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THE CHAMBERLENS

J. H. AVELING, M.D., F.S.A.

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THE CHAMBERLENS

AND THE

MIDWIFERY FORCEPS

MEMORIALS OF THE FAMILY

AND AN

ESSAY ON THE INVENTION OF THE INSTRUMENT

BY

J. H. AVELING, M.D., F.S.A.

Hæc sunt otia nostra

LONDON
J. & A. CHURCHILL
NEW BURLINGTON STREET

1882

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PREFACE.

THE CHAMBERLENS have for many years been to the medical profession a source of interest and mystery. It has been known there were several generations of them, and that one of their number had invented the midwifery forceps, but to which generation each member of the family belonged, and to whom the honour of the invention was due, were problems no one took the trouble to solve. For ten years I have been collecting materials relating to the Chamberlens, but it is only quite recently that I have mastered the subject, and dispelled from my mind the confusion caused by there being three Peters and two Hughs.

Nearly all writers of systematic works on Obstetrics seem to have considered it necessary, when they arrived at the description of the midwifery forceps, to give a slight sketch of the Chamberlen family. I have no hesitation in stating that all these biographical essays, including

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previous attempts of my own, are more or less incorrect. I could occupy pages in recording the errors made by writers of the highest reputation when dealing with this subject; it is sufficient, however, to warn the profession against accepting as true any account of the Chamberlens published before this date, no matter how trustworthy in other respects the author may be.

The Chamberlens have been unmercifully censured for having kept the invention of the midwifery forceps a family secret, but it is not fair to judge members of our profession who lived two hundred years ago, by the code of ethics which medical men now accept. At that time the possession of a nostrum was not looked upon as degrading or derogatory to its owner; and the custom of not publishing secret modes of practice was very common. Only a little more than a hundred years since, Smellie writes, "I have heard a gentleman of eminence in one of the branches of medicine, affirm that he never knew one person of our profession who did not pretend to be in possession of some secret or another." When the forceps was invented the age delighted in mystery. No physician was considered accomplished in his art who knew nothing of astrology. The public readily believed in medical marvels, and resorted much to pretentious quacks, many of whom had special protection and privileges granted them. All that can be fairly said against the Chamberlens is, that they were no better than their neighbours, and that they failed to recognize

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the obligation imposed upon all members of our noble profession of publishing freely and immediately any new method of alleviating human suffering, which, by their industry or genius, they may have been able to discover.

In the following memorials the reader will observe how largely they have been contributed by persons inimical to the projects of the Chamberlens, and whose opposing zeal has led them to adopt language more bitter and vindictive than they might under other circumstances have used. It is necessary to remember this, and to make the requisite allowances.

As far as possible I have endeavoured, by arranging the memorials chronologically, to make them tell the whole story of the lives of the Chamberlens. Here and there a few necessary connecting links have been supplied, but, as a rule, facts alone have been given, and the reader has been left to draw his own conclusions, and make his own comments.

The essay on the invention of the midwifery forceps, founded upon facts derived from the memorials, endeavours to point out which of the Chamberlens was the originator of this most beneficent of instruments, and to show that the member of the family who is now most commonly looked upon as the inventor, has no right to the honour.

Materials for these memorials have been obtained from very numerous sources, the most of which are open to the public; I have, however, to express my grateful thanks

for special permission from the Lord Bishop of London to consult the Registers of the See and of the Vicar-General; also from the President of the Royal College of Physicians of London, for the privilege of copying from the "Annals of the College," and my thanks are specially due to Dr. Pitman and Dr. Munk for their courtesy and kindness in directing me in my search. I am indebted to the Master of the Barbers' Company for allowing me to consult and make excerpts from the "Annals of the Barber Surgeons." To numerous friends who have given me much valuable assistance I also offer my most sincere thanks.

J. H. AVELING.

London, 1882.

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Cargill = Esther

Jane | William | Esther | Margaret | Thomas | Ann

PETER CHAMBERLEN the younger = Sarah de Laune

James | Simon | Jane

Jane Myddelton = PETER CHAMBERLEN = Anne Harrison

Hope and two other sons and two daughters

Sarah | William | Anne | Henry | Robert | Nathaniel | Marguerite

HUGH CHAMBERLEN = Dorothy Brett

PAUL CHAMBERLEN = Mary

Paul

JOHN CHAMBERLEN = Frances

Elizabeth | Thomas | Richard | Peter | Philip | Abraham

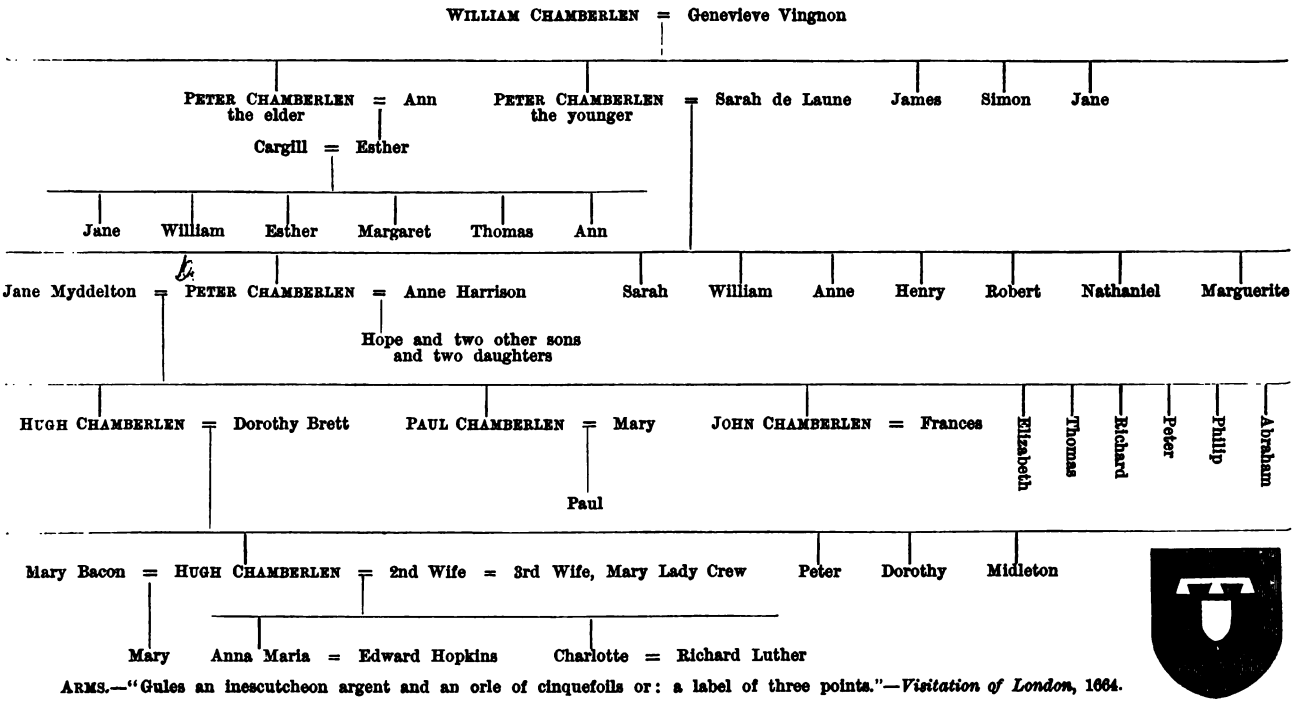
Mary Bacon = HUGH CHAMBERLEN = 2nd Wife = 3rd Wife, Mary Lady Crew

Peter | Dorothy | Midleton

Mary | Anna Maria = Edward Hopkins | Charlotte = Richard Luther

ARMS.—"Gules an inescutcheon argent and an orle of cinquefoils or: a label of three points."—*Visitation of London*, 1664.

PEDIGREE AND ARMS OF THE CHAMBERLENS.



ARMS.—"Gules an inescutcheon argent and an orle of cinquefoils or: a label of three points."—*Visitation of London*, 1664.

THE CHAMBERLENS

AND THE MIDWIFERY FORCEPS.

WILLIAM CHAMBERLEN.*

IN 1569, when France had been rendered desolate and miserable by repeated religious wars, William Chamberlen with his wife, Genevieve, and family were living in Paris, and suffering, as Huguenots, all the hardships and cruelties to which those of their faith were exposed. At this date fresh persecutions were ordered, and the people were encouraged by the priesthood to proceed to the direst extremities for the purpose of exterminating the hateful heretics.

It was fortunate for the Chamberlen family that their home was at length rendered intolerable, and that they determined to leave it and seek shelter and peace in England, for had they lingered longer they would, without doubt, have been among the massacred victims of St. Bartholomew's Day. It is impossible to say why they chose

* The name of Chamberlen is to be found spelt in every possible way, but the mode here used is that which was adopted by the last three generations of the "Asclepiad" family. In the Southampton register the name is frequently found written Chambellan. Peter the elder and Peter the younger signed their names Chamberlan. Dr. Peter changed the termination and adopted that of Chamberlen.

the port of Southampton as their destination, but we learn the fact from the admirably kept register of the Church of St. Julian (the patron of travellers), or God's House of Southampton.* It was the custom, upon the arrival of refugees, that their first reception of the Lord's Supper should be entered in this book—"Ensuyt les noms de ceux qui ont faict professiō de leur foy et admis à la Cène."

"Chambrelein Villame, reçu à la Cène, 3 Juillet 1569."

The family consisted of father, mother, and three children—Peter, Simon, and Jane; another son was born the year of their arrival, as the following entry from the same register shows :—

"Registre des enfans qui ont esté baptisées en l'Eglise des estrangers Walons en la Ville de Hampton admise par la Magesté de la Reyne Elizabeth.

"Jacques fils de Villame Chambrelein et de Genevieve Vingnon sa fâme fut baptisé le 26e jour de Juillet 1569 et eu pour son tesmoings Jacques Vingnon. Le pere et la mere sont de Paris."

Three years later another son was born, and to the confusion of all biographers who have written upon the Chamberlens, he was named Peter. There were therefore now two brothers called Peter, the elder and younger.

Although we have no positive proof, we have strong circumstantial evidence for believing that William Chamberlen practised medicine. There are four reasons for accepting this conclusion. 1st. We know that in France at this time Protestant physicians were not allowed to exercise their profession, under the pretence that they did not advise their Roman Catholic patients when the moment was come for taking the Sacraments. 2nd. It appears that among the members of the French Church at Southampton medical men were comparatively numerous. 3rd. We have the fact that two of his sons were surgeons.

* Archives of the Registrar-General, Somerset House.

4th. Dr. Peter, the son of Peter the younger, speaks of having been "nursed up as from the cradle to all the parts of Physick, and that in Asclepiad Families."*

In a deposition concerning the birth of Peter the younger, which will be more particularly referred to later, dated the 3rd March, 1596, the words "late William Chamberlaine" are used. It is evident, therefore, that he must have been dead before this time. Where he died does not appear, as no record of his death is to be found in the registers of the French churches in Southampton or Threadneedle Street, London.

* "A Voice in Rhama."

PETER CHAMBERLEN THE ELDER.

PETER CHAMBERLEN THE ELDER was the son of William Chamberlen and Genevieve Vingnon, his wife. He must have been born in Paris, and came to this country with his father and mother, for, in the deposition already mentioned, we learn that he was at Southampton in 1572, and old enough to attest to the birth and baptism of his brother, Peter the younger. In 1588 he was still in Southampton, for his name appears as godfather to Rachel Bertelot in April of that year. In 1596 he was in London, and signed the deposition referring to his brother's birth. Two years later his name appears in the "Annals of the Barber Surgeons' Company," and from them it is evident that before 1598 "his hood had been put on his shoulders and he had been admitted into the liverie."*

The following excerpts relate to him :—

1598. FEB. 13.

Peter Chamberlen hath the next Court given him to bring in his arrearages of his debts for his admission.

1598. MARCH 16.

This daie Peter Chamberlen payed x s. of the arrearages for his letters of admittance.

* "1599. It was further ordered that because this tyme is troublesome, and to avoyde the evill speches of men, that there should goe home with the Maister but eighte of the liverye and with the reste of the Governors sixe a peace, *and that withoute their hoodes.*"—"Annals of Barber Surgeons' Company."

1599. MARCH 17.

This daye Peter Chamberlen and John Johnson paide their severall arrearages of their debtes to this house, that is to saie the said Chamberlen x s., and the said Johnson xx s. whereuppon their severall bondes were delivered them by the Master.

1599. OCTOBER 1.

This daie Mistress Lorde widowe complayned of Peter Chamberlen for not keeping her sonne his apprentice as he ought to doe.

1601. JUNE 9.

This daie it is ordered that Peter Chamberlen shall paye to the Maisters and Governors for his lycense of absence xx d. p. quarter.

1602. MARCH 2.

Peter Chamberlen the old is graunted lycense of absence from ye lectures provided hee paye to the Maisters of this Company ii s. vi. d. quarterly for the same, the first payments to begin at Midsummer next.

1603. MARCH 16.

This daye Peter Chamberlen ye old is licensed to be absent from lectures provided he paid vi s. viii d. yearly by quarterly pam^ts^ to this Comp^y^.

From his being content to pay his fines for absence from lectures it may be concluded that the elder Peter was already in good practice, and could spend his time more profitably in attending to his professional duties.

Frequent complaints are to be found in the "Annals of the Royal College of Physicians" of his not having confined himself strictly to the practice of surgery. In December, 1609, he was cited to appear before the President and

Censors, but did not come. He is then called "Petrus Chamberlaine Senior habitans in Marke Lane."

Being again cited the same month and year, he did appear, and was accused "de praxi medica illicita et mala," and for both offences was fined forty shillings. In January, 1610, he was again cited, but did not appear. In March he did appear, and prayed that his fine of forty shillings might be reduced to twenty, which was granted. In October he was again cited, but did not come.

In 1612 he was again before the College, accused of practising medicine, "being demanded if he gave not phisicke to one Mrs. Miller in my Lo. Mayor's house he gave her a drinke for 3 dayes to dry up a moisture which he supposed came from her backe: the drink he also made himselfe aq^{æ} ℥ ij salsæ lb ij aq. liq ℥ i sassafras ℥ i betonie M. j decocq. ad consumpt. medict. cap. bis in die ad ℥ iij. pro dosi, he conceaved they wear the whits because he sawe yellow staynings uppon the clothe." It was unanimously agreed that he had given the medicine wrongly, and his practice was condemned. This occurred on the 13th November, and it is evident that a warrant was signed for his apprehension and removal to Newgate prison, for on the 17th a meeting took place at the College to consider the imprisonment and release of "Peter Chamberlen Surgeon senior."

To understand this perfectly, it is necessary to remember that although physicians might practise surgery, surgeons might not practise physic. In a charter granting privileges to the College of Physicians, 32 Hen. VIII., clause 3 runs as follows:—"Forasmuch as the science of physick doth comprehend, include and contain the knowledge of Surgery as a special member and part of the same therefore be it enacted that any of the said Company or fellowship of Physicians may &c. practise and exercise the said science of Physick in all and every his members and parts."

The privileges granted to the College by various charters were as follows:—

"1. There is no sufficient Licence without the College Seal.

"2. No Surgeon, as a Surgeon, may practise Physick, no, not for any disease, though it be the great Pox.

"3. That the Authority of the College is strong and sufficient to commit to prison.

"4. That the Censure of the College rising from lesser mulcts to greater, was equal and reasonable.

"5. That it were fit to set Physicians bills the day of the Month and the Patient's name.

"6. That the Lord Chief Justice cannot baile or deliver the College prisoner; but is obliged by Law to deliver him up to the College censure.

"7. That a Freeman of London may be lawfully imprisoned by the College.

"8. That no man, though never so learned a Physician or Doctour, may practise in London or within seven miles, without the College Licence." *

The surgeons, jealous of the power granted to the College, and chafing under its censorship, petitioned the House of Commons for relief, and endeavoured to show the hardship they suffered in being subject to fine and imprisonment if they administered any internal remedy whatsoever "by reason whereof they (the Physicians) doe not only take unto themselves the Arts of the Physician Chirurgion and Apothecary but doe likewise goe about to restraine your Petitioners from using unto their grieved and wounded patients such wound-drinks, potions and other inward remedies as they by their long practice, study and tried experience have found most necessary for the recovery of their diseased patients."

This petition was opposed by the College of Physicians and rejected by Parliament, and the surgeons had to

* Goodall's "Proceedings against Empiricks," 1684, p. 345.

humble themselves and make their peace with the College.

Peter Chamberlen the elder did not submit passively to his imprisonment, but brought the whole of his large influence to bear upon the College. The Lord Mayor, at his request, and probably influenced by Thomas Chamberlen, Master of the powerful Mercers' Company, and cousin of the prisoner, interceded for him. A demand was made by the judges of the kingdom on their authority and writ that he should be discharged, but this demand the College could and did legally deny, as he had been committed for *mal praxis*. Lastly, the Archbishop of Canterbury, at the mandate of the Queen, prevailed with the President and Censors, and Peter was released.

The College, however, did not like this interference, and the President and Censors had an interview with the Archbishop, and requested him to uphold their privileges. The Archbishop received them pleasantly, thanked them for their prompt obedience, and declared that he would vigorously resist any assault upon the privileges of the College.

After this the name of Peter, senior, does not appear in the annals of the College of Physicians.

It was doubtless due to Peter having attended the Queen in her confinements that she used her influence in endeavouring to obtain his release from prison.

In XII James I. 1614, among the physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries receiving fees and annuities payable out of his Majesty's exchequer, occurs the name of "Peter Chamberlen surgeon to the Queen £40."

But besides this there is further evidence of his being in the Queen's favour, for in his will he mentions "my diamonde ringe which I had of Queene Anne."

He was also surgeon to Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I., as the following extract from the "Court and Times of Charles I." shows :—

"The Queen mis-carried of her first child. She had neither mid-wife nor physician about her, only the poor town mid-wife of Greenwich was sent for who swooned with fear as soon as she was brought into the Queen's chamber so as she was forced presently to be carried out; and Chamberlayne the surgeon was he alone that did the part of a midwife. This took place in 1628."

In 1617 Peter Chamberlen was employed by the East India Company in viewing surgeon's chests.

In 1627 a warrant was issued to the Exchequer and Treasurer of the Chamber to pay to "Peter Chamberlen Chirurgion to the Queene, certain sums of money out of such pensions and allowances, as shall be payable unto Duncan Primrose Sargeant Chirurgion to his Majesty until the sum of £600 owing to the said Chamberlen by the said Primrose, be satisfied according to a mediation and agreement made by Mr. Secretary Coke and cofferer of the household to whom his Majesty referred the business."*

This was probably money due to Peter the elder in consequence of his having undertaken the duties of Primrose during his absence from England.

Four years after this (December, 1631) Peter Chamberlen the elder died. The following is a copy of his will:—

Will of Peter Chambrelen the Elder.

In the name of God Amen. The nine and twentieth daie of November Anno domini One thousand sixe hundred thirtie one And in the seaventh yeare of the Raigne of o^r^ Soveraigne lord Charles by the grace of God Kinge of England Scotland ffraunce and Ireland defender of the faith &c. I Peter Chambrelan thelder of London Chirurgion beinge at this present weake of body but of perfect minde and memory (thankes be therefore given vnto Allmightie God) doe make and declare this my last will and

* Docquet Books, Signet, Record Office.

testament Indented in writinge in manner and forme followinge That is to saie ffirst and principallie I doe commend my soule into the handes of my most gratious and mercifull God, hopeinge and vndoubtedly beleeving through the merritts, death passion and resurrection of my lord and Saviour Jesus Christ to have free pardon and forgivenes of all my sinnes and to enioye everlastinge blessedness in the kingdome of heaven hereafter And for my body I committ the same to the earth to be buried in decent manner at the discretion of my Executo^{rs} hereafter named And for such worldly goods and estate as it hath pleased God of his goodness to bestowe vpon mee I doe dispose of the same in manner and forme followinge That is to saie Imprimis after all such debts as I doe duly owe shalbe trulie paid and satisfied I doe give & bequeath to the poore of the ffrench Church or Congregation in London the some of five Pounds sterlinge Item I doe give vnto the poore of the parish of Allhallowes Stayninge in Marke lane in London the some of fortie shillings Item I give and bequeath vnto the poore of the parish of Downe in the Countie of Kent fortie shillings And to Mr. Nett vicar of the said parish Twentie shillings Item I give to the poore of the parish of Dionis Backchurch in London where I now dwell fortie shillings to be paid vnto the respective Churchwardens of the said severall parishes and by them to be distributed where most need shalbe Item I doe give and bequeath vnto Esther Cargill eldest daughter of my daughter Esther the some of two hundred pounds of lawfull money of England to be paid vnto her husband within three moneths next after her marriage daie, if her husband shall call for it, and doe then give an acquittance and acknowledg the receipt thereof, as from mee her Grandfather Item I doe give vnto the rest of my said daughter Esthers children that be in Scotland That is to saie Jane Cargill, to William Cargill and Margarett Cargill to each of them two hundred pounds of lawfull money of England to be paid as I have appointed

the first, That is to saye within three moneths after theire severall daies of marriage giving the like receipts But the said William Cargills legacie I desire should not be paid vnto him vntill he shall attaine the age of fower and Twentie yeares. Item I give and bequeath vnto Thomas Cargill eldest sonne of my said daughter, all and singular my lands and messuages tenemente and hereditamente with the rights, members and appurtenñces whatsoever therevnto belonginge or apperteyninge lyinge and beinge in the parishes of Downe, Crodon, Keston and ffarneborowe or any of them in the Countie of Kent, To have and to hold the same lande messuages Tenemente hereditamente and premisses and every of them and every part thereof vnto the said Thomas Cargill and his heires and assignes for ever Allsoe I give vnto the said Thomas Cargill my best apparrell and my bookes, except my new English bible which I give vnto my Grandchild Anne Cargill Item I give vnto the saide Anne Cargill my diamond Ringe which I had of Queene Anne to be keept or sold for her as my Executo^{rs} shall thinke fitt. Item I doe give vnto the said Thomas Cargill my watch Item I doe give vnto my brother Simon Chambrelan of Downe in the Countie of Kent my furred Coate w^{ch} I lately had made Item I doe give and bequeath vnto Peter Smith my Godsonne who is now in ffrance the some of threescore poundes of lawfull money of England And to his brother Robert Smith whoe is now in Virginia the some of fortie pounds of like lawfull English money upon Condic̃on that they the said Peter and Robert doe severally come and demand their said severall legacies within eight yeares next after my decease Item I give vnto my Cozen Abraham Chambrelan the younger my house Clocke Item I give vnto my three servants Thomas Price George Crawley and ffrauncis August my shopp book and all debts and somes of money due to mee for phisike that at my decease by the said shopp booke shall appeare to remaine vnpaid to be

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equallie parted and devided amongst them. Item I doe give vnto them equallie to be devided all the Composic̃ons in my shopp as well waters, Siropps, conserves, purgings, Composic̃ons and simples and such necessarie implements belonging to the shopp except Confectio Alcarnus, Ambergrice Muske Civett and pearles, if there be any. And except such sirrops or conserves as my Executo^{rs} shall like for themselves which I desire them to choose out of the same. Item I doe give and bequeath vnto my two women servants to each of them three pounds sterlinge And to every one of my men servants a mourning suite decent and fitt for their calling. All the rest and residue of my goods moneys debts plate Jewells moveables and estate whatsoever not by this my will bequeathed, after my debts paid and funerall expences discharged I doe give vnto my little Grandchild Anne Cargill to be keept sold and disposed of for her accordinge to the discrec̃on of my Executo^{rs} And to preserve the same vntill she shalbe married or attaine the age of Twentie and one yeares. And I doe hereby nominate appointe and desire my said Executors to be Guardians vnto the said Esther Jane William Margaret Thomas and Anne my Grandchildren And for the said Thomas Cargill's vse to lett and sett the said lands, messuages and Tenements with thappurtenñces, and to deteyne and keepe in their hands the rents and yearely profitts of the same lands vntill the said Thomas Cargill shall attaine to the age of one and twentie yeares allowinge him a fittinge Competency for his maintennce in the meane tyme And alsoe to keepe in their hands the severall legacies hereby given vnto my other Grand children, vntill they ought to receive the same according to their said severall ages, And according to the true meaninge of this my Will And in the meane tyme to allowe vnto the said Anne Cargill after the rate of sixe pounds p centum p ann for their said severall porc̃ons and somes of money remayninge in my said Executo^{rs} hands for her mayn-

tenñce And if any overplus shall either of rents or interest more then for reasonable maintenñce to deteyne it in theire hands for her the said Anne Cargill's vse, and allowe for the same as aforesaid. But if it happen that my sonne-in-lawe would have his daughter Anne Cargill into Scotland I will her porc̃on to be keept here vntill her marriage or one and twentie yeares of age And if he will keepe her there, he shall keepe her without any allowance, but the same shall runne on for her benefitt And my will and minde is that if any of my said Grandchildren Esther Jane William Margarett Thomas or Anne shall fortune to die before he, she or they shall accomplish theire said ages or ought to receive theire said legacies accordinge to the true meaning of this my will Then I doe give the parte or porc̃on both of the said lands, rents, profitts and legacies of him, her, or them soe dyinge vnto and amongst the survivo^{r} or survivo^{rs} of them rateably and proportionably share and share like And I doe nominate ordaine and appointe my most lovinge friends Mr. Richard Legge Merchant of Tower streete London and the said Mr. Abraham Chambrelan Merchant of Bread streete London to bee Executo^{rs} of this my last will and Testament intreatinge them to have a care of my little Grandchild Anne Cargill And to see this my will truly executed accordinge to the contents thereof and my trust in them reposed And for theire paines therein to be taken I doe give vnto each of them three pounds sterlinge to buy them Rings to wear in remembrance of mee. And I doe appoint my loveinge and kind Cozen Mr. Abraham Chambrelan thelder Marchant to be Overseer of this my last will and Testament And I doe vtterly revoke and renounce all former wills and Executo^{rs} by mee heretofore made And doe pronounce theis presents to be my last will and Testament. In witnes whereof to bothe partes of this my will and Testament Indented (thone parte remayninge with Mr. Abraham Chambrelan the younger) and the other in my owne

Custodie I the said Peter Chambrelan have put my hand and seale yeoven the daie and yeare first above written p̄ moy Peter Chambrelan.

Memorandū That this p̄nte will was Read signed sealed pronounced and declared by y^e^ said Peter Chambrelan thelder and at that tyme did explayne his minde and will to bee that the fower children now in Scotland namely Esther Jane William and Margarett Cargill shall have onely theire principall legacies aforesaid And that the said Anne Cargill shall have all the interest for all the same legacies after the rate aforesaid vntill the same severall legacies ought by this my will to be paid. In the presence of vs John Davies Scr. Edward Ridley Cittizen and leather-seller of London ffran. Harrison servant to the said Scr.

Proved 16 December 1631 by Abraham Chambrelan one of the exors. power reserved to Richard Legge the other exor.*

It is evident that Peter Chamberlen the elder was a widower when this will was made, and was living at Downe, in Kent, with his youngest grandchild, Anne Cargill, daughter of Esther, who appears to have been his only child. The kindliness displayed in his solicitude for the welfare of his "little grandchild" cannot fail to touch the heart of every reader.

At the time of his death he had been sixty-two years in England, and as he was, soon after his arrival, old enough to depose to the birth of his brother, the probability is that he had lived to the age of seventy or eighty.

Little is known of his wife except that her Christian name was Anne. In 1604 and the following year her name appears twice in the Threadneedle Street Register as Godmother to Sarah Chamberlen, her niece, and Jehan la Pierre.

* P.C.C. St. John, 130.

PETER CHAMBERLEN THE YOUNGER.

PETER CHAMBERLEN THE YOUNGER was the son of William Chamberlen and Genevieve Vingnon, his wife, and younger brother of Peter the elder.

It is remarkable that although there are in the Southampton Register records of the births of Jacques in 1569, and Jaune in 1570, children of William and Genevieve, no trace of the birth of Peter the younger is to be found. Curiously enough this omission is remedied by the following deposition copied from the "Annals of the Barber Surgeons":—

"Wee Joan fflewrey widow of late Robert fflewrey and Martha Molin weif to Robert Molin both dwellinge in London doe certifie and testifie to all those to whome it doth appteyne That Peter Chamberlaine the younger sonne of late William Chamberlaine and Genevieve his weif was borne in the towne of Southampton on a Sunday about 5 of the clocke in the morninge on the eighteth day of Ffebruary or thereabout in the yeare of our lord god according to the Computation of the Church of England one thousande five hundred three score and twelve (1572) at the then dwellinge house of one Mathew Syher scituate right over against the church of St. John in Southampton aforesaid and was baptized in the ffrench Church in Southampton aforesaid by Mr. Walleyan ffrench minister and James Dunon was his godfather All which wee know to be true because wee have byn both p̄nte at the baptism of the said Peter Chamberlaine the younger And there

besides the said Joan fflewry for to have been p̄nte at the birth of the said Peter.

"In witness whereof we have subscribed these p̄nts with o^r^ own hands the third daye of March in the yeare of our lord god according to the Computation of the Church of England 1596 and in the xxxix^th^ yeare of the reigne of o^r^ Sovraigne Lady Elizabeth by the grace of god Queen of England ffraunce and Ireland defender of the Faith.

"Johan fflewrie

"Martha Molin

"Peter Chamberlaine Senior

"Daniell le Blancq, testis Paulus Typoots, Notar. Pub.

"Ex. per ffraunce, Rowdon, Cl. Mister. pred. et Concordat cum original."

From the "Liber Vicarii Generalis"* of the See of London, it is found that Peter Chamberlen the younger had this deposition of his birth again officially recorded.

On the 11th December, 1612, he appeared before Thomas Edwards, Vicar-General of John, Lord Bishop of London, and the proceedings which then took place are thus chronicled:—

"Ye daye above written appeared personally before the right worshipful my Lord Edwards Chancellor to the above named right reverend father in God Mr. Peter Chambrelan ye younger of ye citye of London Surgeon and then exhibited a certificate of his birth craving to have the same recorded in the registry of the sayde reverend father in God John Lord Bishop of London for a memorial thereof. Of the truths of which certificate Mr. Peter Chambrelan the Elder of the Citye of London Surgeon brother to the sayde Peter Chambrelan the younger and one Martha Molin wife to Robert Molin of London, whose name is subscribed to the sayde certificate did the day and yeare above written

* Edwards, 1611-16. Somerset House.

make faythe that the Contents of which certificate are as follows:—

"Wee Joan ffleury &c."

The reason this deposition was made was that the Barber Surgeons had ordered "that from henceforth no alien or stranger born out of His Majesty's dominions shall be capable or eligible to bear or take upon him any place or places of office of a Master or Governor of the Company," and the date of this deposition, which is 1596, corresponds with the probable date of the admission of Peter the younger to the Company.

The following additional extracts from the "Annals of the Barber Surgeons" also relate to him:—

1602. AUGUST 3.

This daye Peter Chamberlen the younger fyned for his absence from lectures and upon his humble suit he was admitted to hang out his bassins for Barbour in Black-fryars. Provided he paye to the M^r^ of this Company xx d. quarterly so long as he shall use the arte of Barbour in the place aforesaid and his first quarter to begin at Michaelmas next.

1604. JULY 12.

Peter Chamberlen the young and James Mullins are to be warned to be at the hall the next Court for that they made no representation of a cure they had which was in danger of death.

1606. FEBRUARY 18.

This daye Peter Chamberlen Jun^r^. is fined for his absence from lectures.

1606. APRIL 1.

This daye Peter Chamberlen paid vi s. viii d. for his fine of absence.

1609. MAY 15.

This daye in the Controversie betwixt Samuel Hayward on the one side and Peter Chamberlen Junr. on the other side it is ordered that the said Peter Chamberlen shall repay unto the said Samuel Hayward xx s.

* * * * * * * * *

And so the said Peter Chamberlen is discharged that he owe.

1609. NOV. 7.

Att this Court Martyn Browne the apprentice of Thomas Clemence is turned over by Consent thereof to Mr. Pecke to live with him the residue of his tyme which is to come at Michs last 3 years and 3 quarters and Mr. Peck hath likewise at this Court by consent of the Mr and the appntice turned him over to Peter Chamberlayne the younger to live ye residue of his terme.

1611. DEC. 3.

At this Court Peter Chamberlyn the younger made suit to have granted for him Lysence of absence under the yearlie payment of vi s. & viii d. due for that he cannot in respect of his business come into lectures whereupon it is decreed by this Court that he shall have lycence of absence granted unto him under the yearlie payment aforesaid and he hath pade at this Court for his absence for the year past untill this daie the some of v s.

From an inquiry held at Lambeth Palace, before the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London in 1634, which document will be found among the memorials relating to Dr. Peter Chamberlen, it is ascertained that Peter Chamberlen, junior, was licensed to practise midwifery by the authority of the Bishop of London. A most careful search for this licence in the books of the Vicar-General, now preserved in Somerset House, has proved

unsuccessful. The cause of this may be that a year or two of the Vicar-General's books of the time when it would be most likely to be found (1600) are missing.

Like Peter the elder, Peter the younger was in constant conflict with the College of Physicians.

In May, 1600, he was accused by the College of having treated Morbus Gallicus by means of purging and drying diet, and confessed to having thus practised.

In August, 1607, he was accused by Dr. Ridley of having prescribed medicine as an electuary to a son of Mr. Lile, and of having given pills to a girl which caused a diarrhœa that lasted three days.

In November, 1607, Dr. Rawlins accused him of illegal and evil practice, for he had undertaken the treatment of a certain Richard Welsh, living in "Tems" Street, and laid up with joint disease, by means of ointments, potions, sudorifics, and finally of purgatives. He pleaded the authority of his father-in-law, Dr. Lawney,* whose advice, he said, he had followed; but his excuse was manifestly a false one, inasmuch as he had also made a bargain with the patient about payment, and had made up medicines at his own house, without the prescription of his father-in-law. He was fined in the sum of five marks, and made to sign a bond to pay them.

In February, 1608, he paid three pounds of the fine thus imposed upon him, and the balance was remitted to him.

In August, 1608, Dr. Pattinson accused him of practising medicine in conjunction with Mrs. Bass. At first he seemed inclined to deny the charge, but afterwards made a frank confession, and a fine of four marks was imposed upon him.

In December, 1609, he was up again to answer a summons of the College, and was ordered to re-appear on the day after St. Thomas's Day, when he was fined forty shillings for the illegal and evil practice of medicine.

* Dr. William De Laune.

In January, 1610, he was again summoned, but excused himself.

In October, 1610, he sought to put an end to all these prosecutions by joining the College, and appearing before the censors, was examined for the first time. He does not, however, seem to have proceeded further than this.

In November, 1613, Dr. Fludd complained that Peter the younger had used most insolent language against himself and others, members of the College.

In December, 1613, James Stopes, and Elizabeth, his wife, petitioned the College against Peter the younger in the matter of an agreement for ten pounds, five of which he had received, whereby he had promised a cure within a few weeks, but that after treating her for a whole year he had left them in a worse state than at first. This had taken place two years ago. Stopes was at the present time still under treatment at the hands of Moore and Knightbridg. Chamberlen was ordered to be summoned to appear the next Friday, together with the complainant. On this occasion, Dr. Fludd brought several charges against him. He appeared twice to defend himself, but with what result is not stated.

In May, 1615, he was again summoned before the College, and charged about his practice. He admitted that if he were in ignorance of the pulse he was unworthy of the profession which he practised; but the Censors, on examining him, thought he did not know what differences there were in the pulse, and called it palpitation. He was charged with having practised medicine in the case of a certain Mr. Tullie, and of the maid-servant of a certain carpenter, and in the cases of others, but as his accuser, Dr. Herring, did not appear, he was discharged.

The Incorporation of Midwives.

On the 24th January, 1616, a meeting was held at the College of Physicians of London, to deliberate about letters

patent for the incorporation of midwives. The petition of the midwives was produced, which had been referred to Mr. Attorney, and to the King, and by the King to his Counsellors, and by them to the College, when it was resolved that all should weigh the matter and commit their opinions to writing. Also that the President should consult with Doctors Mountford, Lister, Palmer, and Argent, who should report to the College.

On February 21st, 1616, another meeting was held, at which the opinions of the members were brought forward, and ordered to be embodied in the reply of the President to the Lords of the Council. Peter the younger appears to have been present at this meeting, from the following note of its proceedings:—

"To Peter Chamberlen the younger, who was impudently advocating the cause of these women, the question was put, whether, if a difficulty in a case of labour were propounded to any member of the College he would not answer and judge more correctly than any obstetric surgeon whatever, in spite of his boast that he and his brother, and none others, excelled in these subjects."

At a meeting held the 3rd June, 1617, a letter to the Lords of the Council relating to the petition of the midwives, was read, written by Dr. Argent, with the approbation of the President, and Dr. Clement and Dr. Fox were nominated to present it to the Secretary, Mr. Winwood; moreover, the Registrar was ordered to make an accurate copy of it and the former letters, which are as follows:—

To y^e^ right Ho^ble^ S^r^ Francis Bacon Knight one his Ma^ties^ most ho^ble^ Privie Councell & his Highnes Attorney Generall.

The humble petition of y^e^ Midwives in & about y^e^ Citie of London.

Shewing to y^r Ho^r That Whereas yo^r Hono^r hath byn informed of the substance of the matter conteyned in this annexed peticon The project or subiect whereof y^r honor did like well, and gave full allowance to our proceadinge to be had therein for the finishinge and affectinge of the said proiect.

Whereuppon yo^r peti$\tilde{c}$oners have caused to be drawne this aforesaid annexed peti$\tilde{c}$o$\tilde{n}$ ready to be presented to his Ma^ty But such whome y^r peti$\tilde{c}$oners have ymployed about the furtheringe and effectinge of the said proiect w^th his Ma^ty do intreat first to be satisfied and resolved from yo^r hono^r That you have byn made acquainted wth the said proiect and do well like of the proceadinge thereof.

Y^r peticoners do therefore most humbly intreat y^r honor to signifye by a word or two To be subscribed under this peti$\tilde{c}$o$\tilde{n}$ that yo^r honor hath considered of the same proiect and approve thereof.

And yo^r peti$\tilde{c}$oners will daily pray for yo^r honor.

I do thinke this proposition w^ch I have also understood from Docter Mayerne full of piety and appearance of savinge life in women in travell and innocency. So that if his Ma^ty shall declare his pleasure I shall call those to me of Physitians and others that understand yt best and drawe the booke accordingly.

27 Decemb 1616.

To the King's most Excellent Ma^ty.

The humble peti$\tilde{c}$o$\tilde{n}$ of the midwives in, and about the Citty of London.

Shewinge unto yo^r Highnes That through the want of skill in manny w^ch take uppon them to be midwives many women laboringe with child and their children do perish.

And that yt is very needefull that the skill of the most

skillfullest in that profession should be bettred and none allowed but such as are meete which cannot be performed unlesse the said Midwives be incorporated and made a Societye.

For w^{ch} purpose y^{t} may please yo^{r} highnes to yeve direccons unto yo^{r} Ma^{ties} Counsayle learned (whoe allready have byn made acquainted wth this their sute) for the drawinge and preparinge of a booke fitt for yo^{r} Highnes signature whereby the said Midwives may be incorporated and made a Society. And may have lectures uppon Anatomies and other Aucthorety for orders and helpes for instruccon and increase of skill amongest them as unto the wisedom of yo^{r} highnes said learned Counsayle shalbe thought meete.

And yo^{r} peti$\tilde{c}$oners according to theire bounden duty will daily pray for yo^{r} Ma^{ties} long and most happy reigne.

Whitehall 10th January 1616.

The Lords by Commanndement from his Ma^{ty} havinge taken notice of this peticon do refer the same to the Considera$\tilde{c}$on of the Colledge of Phisitions, requiringe them to deliver theire opinyon to their Lo^{ps} of the necessity or inconveniency thereof.

THO. LAKE.

Ryght honorable

The Colledg of Physitions having duly considered the peti$\tilde{c}$on made to the Kings Ma^{ty} in the behalf of the Midwives accordinge to order and direc$\tilde{c}$ons sent from yo^{r} Lor^{ps} unto them doe hold yt very convenient that a Reformation were had of such abuses as are men$\tilde{c}$oned in the peti$\tilde{c}$on And allso some meanes used for the bettringe of the skill of the Midwives (who for the most part are very ygnorant.)

Nevertheless they think yt neither necessary nor con-

venient that they should be made a Corporac̃on to govern within themselves a thinge not exampled in any Comonwealth.

But for chusinge of such as may be right fitt and expert to practize therein And for the increasinge of the skyll and knowledge of such as are chosen As allso for the due reformac̃on of abuses and disorders in that practize yt may very well be effected (yf before they be admitted by the Bisshopp or his Chauncellour they be first examined and approved by the President of the College of the Phisitions and two or iij of the gravest of that Society such as the President shall nominate And likewise for abuses and disorders by any of them comytted they may be censured of the Colledge accordinge as ys used in all other evell practizers in Phissick And for the bettringe of their skill and knowledge the College maketh offer to depute such grave and learned men as shall allwaies be ready to resolve all their doubts and instruct them in what they desire concerninge Midwiferye and once or twice in the yeare to make privat dissections and Annattomyes to the use of their whole Company.

The further consideraco̅n whereof they humbly referr to yo^{r} Lor^{ps} wisedomes.

The President and Colledge of the
Physitians of London.

It will be seen further on, in a petition of midwives to the College of Physicians in 1634, that Peter the elder was associated with Peter the younger in this attempt to incorporate midwives.

In June, 1620, the name of Peter the younger appears for the last time in the annals of the College. He then admitted that to a clyster which had been prescribed by Doctors Argent and Golston he had ordered to be added the pulp of colocynth for a sick man, given over and left

younger is taken :—"As for my son-in-law Peter Chamberlen my will is that he repaire the entrye of my house where he nowe dwelleth as yt was when he entered therein as he ought to doe by the judgment of honest men according to lawe and as he hathe allreadye promised in wrytinge before that he receyve any benefitt or commoditye by this my will."*

Reference is also made to his daughters having received sums of money at their marriages and at the death of their mother.

In January, 1620, denization was procured by Sir John Suckling to Sara Chamberlen or de Laune, wife of Peter Chamberlen, at the suit of Elizabeth Sparks. Subscribed by Mr. Attorney-General by order from Sir Sydney Montagu.†

Shortly after this she must have died, for no mention of her is made in the will of her husband, dated 1626, of which the following is a copy :—

Will of Peter Chambrelen the Younger.

In the name of God Amen the Twelveth daie of August 1626 and in the second yeare of the raigne of our Soveraigne lord Charles by the Grace of God Kinge of England Scotland ffraunce and Ireland defender of the faithe &c. I Peter Chambrelan the yonger of London Surgeon being Sicke of bodie butt of good and perfect mynde and memorie thankes be therefore given to God Doe make and ordaine this my last will and Testament in manner and forme followinge That is to saie First and principallie above all other thinges I bequeath my soule into the handes of Allmightie god my Creator most constantlie trustinge and beleevinge by and through the

* P. C. C. Wood, 23.

† Docquet Books, Signet, Record Office.

merritts death and passion of my onelie Saviorre and Redeemer Jesus Christ to have everlastinge lief, and to see the lord in the land of the everlivinge, And my bodie I Coñitt to the earth to be decently buried at Downe in the Countie of Kent, At the discrecõn of my Executors and Overseers hereafter named And as touchinge the disposicõn of such lands Tenements and worldly goods as it hath pleased god to blesse me withall in this lief I give and bequeath the same as followeth That is to saie ffirst I give and bequeath to the poore of the parrish of Sainte Anne in the Blackfryers where I nowe dwell Three poundes to the poore of the parrishe of Downe in Kent aforesaide three poundes And to the poore of the ffrench church in London sixe poundes Item I give and bequeath vnto my three yongest sonnes Nathaniell Henry and Robert and vnto theire heires all my messuages lands Tenemte and hereditamente in the parish of Downe aforesaide in the saide Countie of Kente And alsoe I give vnto them all the houshould stuff wherewith my house there is furnished equallie to be devided amongst them And if anie of them shall dye or decease out of this world without yssue of his bodie lawfullie to be begotten that then the part and porcõn of him soe deceasinge as well of the saide landes as of the houshould stuffe shalbe and remaine vnto and amongst the survivors or survivor of them and his and their heires And if they shall all dye or decease out of this world without anie yssue of theire or any of theire bodies lawfullie to be begotten, then I will that the same Landes and houshould stuffe shall be and remaine vnto my eldest sonne Peter and his heires. Prouided allwaies and my will and meaninge is that my executors hereafter named shall receive and take the Rente yssues and proffitte of the said landes and of the severall parts of everie one of my saide sonnes Nathaniell Henrie and Robert of and into the same landes vntill he shall severallie and respectively attaine vnto his severall age of One and twentie yeares to the

intent they maie dispose of the same as followeth. That is to saie vnto everie one of my said sonnes Nathaniell Henrie and Robert the some of Twentie and two poundes ffower shillinges and ffive pence a peece per ann out of the same vntill he shall attaine vnto his said age of one and twentie yeares And the rest and residue of the rents yssues and proffitte of the said landes shall yearelie reserve and detayne vnto all theire vses to be equallie distributed amongst them and the survivo^{rs} or survivor of them at theire severall ages of one and twentie yeares for and towardes their educac̃on and maintenñce vntill they shall attaine to theire severall ages of one and Twentie yeares aforesaid Item I give and bequeath vnto my said sonne Peter all my Cattell whatsoever within the saide Countie of Kent And I doe will and appointe that the same Cattell shall or maie be and remayne after my decease vpon my said landes there soe longe and vntill my saide house and landes shalbe lett vnto some good Tenãnte Item I give and bequeath vnto my daughter Anne the some of eight hundred poundes of lawfull money of England to be paid vnto her at her age of one and Twentie yeares or daie of marriage which shall first happen And if the saide Anne shall dye or decease out of this world before her saide Legacie shall growe due to her as aforesaid that then the same shalbe and remaine vnto and amongst the rest of my children survivinge equallie to be devided amongst them Item I give and bequeath vnto my son William the sum of one thousande poundes to be paid vnto him at his age of ffower and Twentie yeares And I will that my executors shall paie vnto the said William yearelie vntill he shall attaine vnto his saide age of ffower and Twentie yeares for and in respect of theire havinge of the said legacie of One thousand poundes in theire handes the some of ffortie poundes p̃ ann for and towardes his maintenñce and educac̃on And if the said William shall dye or decease out of this world before he shall attaine vnto his saide age of ffower and

twentie yeares without issue of his bodie lawfullie to be begotten that then his said legacie of one thousand poundes shalbe and remaine vnto my sonne Peter. Item I give and bequeath vnto my sonne Peter and his heires all that my Messuage or Tenement with the appurtenñces sett and beinge in Blackfryers London nowe in the tenure or occupac̃on of Demus Barbier or his assignes And all the rest and residue of my goodes and Chattells not given and bequeathed my debts beinge first paide and my funeralls discharged I give vnto my saide sonne Peter And I doe hereby revoake and disanull all former wills and testamente by me made at anie tyme before the date hereof, And doe make this my onelie last will and testament And doe make and ordaine my brother Peter Chambrelan the elder and my nephew Peter Symons Marchant Executors of this my last will and Testament And Overseer of the same I intreate my lovinge Cosen Abraham Chambrelan of London Marchant hartilie prayinge them to be carefull to see this my will performed, accordinge to my true meaninge herein declared In witnes whereof I the said Peter Chambrelan to this my last will and Testament haue putt my hande and seale yeoven the daie and yeare first aboue written —Peter Chambrelan—Sealed Subscribed and published by the within named Peter Chambrelan for and as his last will & Testament in the presence of ffra. Mosse not^r^ publique Henry Archer Nicasuos Rousseol.

Proved 22 August 1626, by Peter Symons exor.*

Peter the younger died at the age of fifty-four, and in accordance with the wish expressed in his will, was buried at Downe in Kent, as the following extract from the parish register shows:—

"Mr. Peter Chamberlan Jun^r^ the 16th of August was buried."

* P. C. C. Hele, 106.

DR. PETER CHAMBERLEN.*

DR. PETER CHAMBERLEN, the son of Peter the younger and Sara de Laune, was born in the parish of St. Anne, Blackfriars, on the 8th May, 1601, and baptized four days afterwards at the French Church, Threadneedle Street, from the register of which Church the following record of the event is extracted :—

" Die Mardy 12 Mai 1601.

" Pierre fils de Pierre Chamberlan et de Sarra de Laune sa fême fut baptise et eut pour parins Pierre de Laune minister de Norwich et Jacob Garderet et por Maryne Magdelaine Chamberlan vefve."†

* This portrait is taken from a well-known engraving beneath which is " Paul Chamberlin, M.D., 1658." It is really the likeness of Dr. Peter Chamberlen, for at this date Paul was only 23 years old, while the former was 57, which age corresponds precisely with the features represented above.

† Somerset House. Foreign churches.

He was educated at Merchant Taylor's School, and from thence, when only fourteen years old, he went to Cambridge, and was admitted to Emmanuel College on the 21st April, 1615. After this he went to Heidelberg and Padua, and at the latter university received the degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1619, he being then only eighteen years of age. He was incorporated on that degree at Oxford in 1620, and at Cambridge in 1621. These facts will be found corroborated in the brief autobiographical sketch he gave in "A Voice in Rhama," which will be found in full under the heading "Incorporation of Midwives."

Peter the younger was evidently determined that his son should be well furnished with medical diplomas, the want of which had been to him a constant source of annoyance, and a serious hindrance in practice.

From the "Annals of the College of Physicians," the following facts relating to Dr. Peter Chamberlen are to be gathered :—

January 11th, 1621, he appeared as a candidate for examination, and a note is appended of his having already graduated as Doctor of Medicine at Padua, 16th September, 1619, under Roderico Fonseca. His diploma was exhibited, and found in every respect ample, and having satisfied the examiners, was accordingly approved for the first examination. On the 8th February, 1621, he appeared for the second time, and was examined by the Censors and approved. On the 22nd March he was examined for the third time, and was recommended to wait and try again with good expectation of success the next time.

He did not appear before the College again until July 26th, 1626, when he was once more examined and approved, and thereupon elected and sworn.

November 22nd, 1627, he competed with Dr. Oxenbridge for a vacant fellowship in the College, and both candidates most eagerly strove for the honour, and both had claims. Oxenbridge was preferred, being a much older man.

"Senex juveni : idque illi solatio fuit." He was, however, on the 29th March, 1628, elected fellow by a majority of votes, but it was ordered that he be gravely admonished by the mouth of the President, to change his mode of dress, and no longer follow the frivolous fashion of the youth at Court, and that he be not admitted until he conforms to the custom of the College, and adopts the decent and sober dress of its members. In this instance he appears to have made the necessary change, and "became subordinate unto his seniors," for on the 7th April, 1628, after taking the oath to the King and College, he was admitted Fellow.

By this time Dr. Peter Chamberlen had acquired considerable reputation both at home and abroad.

The "Annals of the Barber Surgeons" show that he had been selected by the Company to give the yearly demonstration in anatomy:—"1642 May 5. It is ordered that Doctor Chamberlen shall have a silver tankard of vi li price with arms of the Company ingraved on it as the gift of this Court for his paynes the last public anatomy."

In "The Ladies Parliament," by Henry Nevill, 1647, is to be found the following order of the House:—

"2 ordered further that Dr. Hinton* and Dr. Chamberlen be likewise assistants that with greater secrecy and ease their Ladyships may be helped out with their most troublesome and pressing affairs."

Dr. Munk also gives us further evidence of his widespread fame. "His reputation as a practitioner must, however, have been considerable, for it reached even to Russia, and attracted the attention of the Czar, who wrote with his own hand a letter to Charles I. begging him to allow the doctor to enter his service, understanding that he was willing to do so. Great preparations were made for his reception at Archangel, which

* Sir John Hinton, who attended the Queen at Exeter, where she gave birth to the Princess Henrietta.

was then the way from London to Moscow; but a letter arrived from the King, excusing himself for refusing the Czar's request, upon the grounds that as a native Russian, Dr. Elmston, had been studying medicine in England, and had returned to his own country, so was he capable of filling the office of body physician to the Czar."

He had also by this time been appointed physician extraordinary to the King, and being arrested for some transactions connected with his apothecary, petitioned the House of Lords and obtained his release, claiming the privilege of Parliament as being the King's servant.*

An amusing anonymous biographical notice† of Dr. Peter Chamberlen, evidently by some one inimical to him, refers to this incident among others:—

"His father for ought I ever heard was a good honest Barber surgeon and by his knack in midwifery got plentiful estate, which with his art he left to this young gentleman who slipt out of his swadlin-clowts into the Doctors chair by a strange impulse devouring all the Arts in an instant, got his degree before the world was aware on't and at nineteen was made a very reverend Doctor. I will not uncover his nakednesse nor give you any particulars of the vain profuseione of his younger years, whereby he spent and trifl'd away a considerable estate left him, and lost a very fair way of practice, his present condition sufficiently evidencing it, and sealeth the trueth of that divine saying, *he that troubleth his own house, shall inherit the winde;* (Prov. xi. v. 29.) at last finding by sad experience, that his fathers coffers had a bottom which could not be beaten in time unto his beleife, he cast about, and falls upon several projects and devices, for the support of his present garb and greatness, and the first, if I mistake not,

* "Journals of the House of Lords," vol. vi. p. 186, b.

† "An Answer to Doctor Peter Chamberlaine's Scandalous and False Papers." London, 1650.

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was that same trick of Physical Simony to share in his Apothecarie gains but scorning the poor peddling way of justice *Long* in the law, or his brother *Fludd* in his own art, he maketh him allow him the one half of all he taketh yet bars all the charge and trouble, as was proved at the bar of the house of Commons in the beginning of the Parliament, as good be a knave for a pound as a peny; but this divise took not, he got a great deale of shame, and this trick furthered not his already decreasing practice."

Incorporation of Midwives.

At a meeting of the College, held 28th August, 1634, at which Dr. Peter Chamberlen was present, the question of incorporating midwives was brought forward. The following is the Registrar's note of what took place:—

"Mrs. Hester Shawe and Mrs. Whipp Midwives presented a petiõn to the College it being readd it appeared meerlye to concerne Dr. Chamberlayne, concerning the making of Midwifes a Corporacõn and himselfe to be gouernour of it. Dr. Chamberlayne desyred to have the Copye of the petiõn but it was denyed him till he should give into the Colledge; his propositions made to the Kinge: or that he should submite his cause to the Censors which hee refused."

A committee, consisting of Dr. Argent the President, Drs. Clement, Foxe, Fludd, Baskerville, Winston, Hodson, Meverell, Ridgbye, Spicer, and Hawley, was appointed and met on September 8th, 1634, to consider the midwives' petition, and draw up an answer to be presented to the Lords appointed to hear their cause:—

The Copye of the Midwifes petiõn presented to the President and College.

To the Right Worshipfull the President and other Drs.

of Phisique fellowes of the College of Phisitions within the Citty of London.

The Humble petiĉon of divers ancient Midwifes in the Citty of London.

Sheweth. That through the molestation of a Dr. Chamberlane by appointing them to meet at his house once every month without authority, and with intention, as they suppose, to bring about a project of his to have the sole licensing of them or approving of all such as shall hereafter be licensed out of an opinion of himself, and his own ability in the art of midwifery, implying a necessity of using him and no other both in those cases and in all other occasions that shall happen to women with child, presuming that he hath more exact skill then all the grave and learned Physicians in the Kingdom in those cases for he threatneth that he shall not repair unto such women as are distressed whose midwives have refused to conform themselves to him.

Your petitioners have been enforced to petition to his Majesty and the most Reverend the Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace for redress therein. And his Majesty hath most graciously hearkened unto the complaint and referred the same unto the Lord of Canterbury and Bishop of London, in whose Jurisdictions and by whose authority they are and have been always licensed to call the said Dr. before them and to take such course therein as shall be fit.

And whereas they conceive the said Dr.
hath erred and been short in his respect unto this grave and learned society in such his peremptory assumption of skill beyond them in all cases concerning Women with child And that as they are informed his father and uncle practisers in midwifery have been examined upon the like occasion by command from King James of ever blessed memory in the very business and art of Midwifery.

They humbly desire your worships to take the same now into consideration, and so far to respect your petitioners in

this their humble and just complaint, as to give them certificate unto those Reverend Prelates that there is not such a necessity of dependance upon the said Dr. Chamberlane more than upon any other Physicians whom these petitioners do desire to be free and at liberty to make use of in all occasions requisite for their advice and help as well as of Dr. Chamberlane who for aught as they can discern by his carriage would monopolize the whole practice among child bearing women, being a young man, to the disparagement of all other Physicians and the Inslaving of your petitioners.

The ensuing was d[elivere]d together with the petition to the Lords.

May it please your Lordships—Upon consideration taken of this petition hereunto annexed presented unto the President and College of Physicians the 28th daye of August 1634 by the Midwifes Wee the College of Physicians conceiving the said complaint to be grounded upon just grievance, and to conduce to a general good in the timely prevention of so growing an inconvenience Have particularly informed ourselves concerning the said business, and do certify that Dr. Chamberlanes father attempted the like which is now intended by himselfe and the same was referred by K James of blessed memory to the Lords of the Council and by their Lordships to the College of Physicians to certify their opinions thereof; who upon mature deliberation made report to their Lordships of the unfitness of the said proposition there being no such custome ever used either here or in any other Kingdom. Whereupon the same was rejected and dyed. And whereas we understand that the said Dr. doth ground his complaint upon the insufficiency of Midwifes, whom he would undertake to teach, though licensed by your Lordships Officers whom we do believe to be as careful in admitting of Midwives as they are in other Kingdomes Onely we are

informed that divers do practise without Licence and some are Deputies to others through whom we probably conceive some abuses to grow because their abilities and honesty of lives and conversations are not testified upon oath as others who are licensed. But for adding sufficiency to them by Dr. Chamberlanes instruction, he is not otherwise able to instruct them than any other the meanest Fellow of our College unless he understand it by the use of iron instruments which Physicians and Chirurgions may practise if they please and some do and have done with as good success and dexterity as himself and therefore there is no necessity of a sole dependence upon him. And it being true that is reported by the Midwifes, Dr. Chamberlane doth often refuse to come to the poor, they not being able to pay him according to his demands and for the rich he denies them his help until he hath first bargained for great rewards which besides that they are in themselves dishonest covetous and unconscionable courses, they are also contrary to the laws and statutes of our College to which by Oath he is bound. We therefore for this and other reasons we can alledge conceive his suit to be unreasonable and inconvenient And so do humbly leave the same to your Lordships grave judgments unto whom his Majesty referred the consideration thereof.

The Midwifes had formerly p^r^sented a petition to his Ma^tie^ w^th^ divers obiections against Dr. Chamberlane w^ch^ his Ma^tie^ referred to the Bishopp of London w^ch^ I have next registered.

To the Kings most Excellent Ma^tie^

The humble petic̃on of divers auncient Midwifes inhabiting w^th^in the Citty of London.

Humbly shew

That yo^r^ petic̃oners by authority of the ecclesiastical courts w^th^in the Province of Canterbury and diocese of London upon exact examinac̃on of their life and con-

versac̃on and also of their experience and sufficiencye testified upon the oathes of divers women of good credit and reputac̃on have bine licensed to exercise the office and p[ro]fession of Midwifes wthin the Province of Canterbury and citty of London and have behaved themselves therein honestlie wthout question or imputac̃on of misdemeano^{r} according to their oathes and direction to them given in their letters of admittance.

And whereas Mr. Chamberlane Dr. of phisicke practic̃oner in Midwifery unto whom all yo^{r} petic̃oners have and do apply themselves upon occasion in unnatural and dangerous birthes as a phisition more peculiarly applying himself to the practise thereof then others but deny a necessity of dependance upon him otherwise then in the cases before menc̃oned they being authorized by the power of the ecclesiasticall Courts to practise the said p[ro]fession to whome (if they err in their duty) they are liable to give accompt of their proceedings and to answear such complaints as shall be laid against them. Hath either by himself or some by his appointment left divers sum̃ons and messages at the houses of all or most of the midwifes of London to appoint them to meet at his house wth what intention or to what end or by what authority yo^{r} petic̃oners cannot tell although some of them have bine there unto whom hee offered a paper to sett their hands unto, w^{ch} some subscribed for feare, and doth imply by his discourse a kind of necessitye of their dependance upon him, and approbac̃on by him, and doth threaten that he will not apply his helpe to such women as are distressed whose midwifes have refused to appeare att his house, and conform themselves to him, by w^{ch} meanes they fearing to bee intrapped, or otherwise to prejudice (by some design of his not knowen to yo^{r} petic̃oners) the power by w^{ch} they are licensed and so to indanger themselves to incurr suspension by their Ordinary though willing to submit to anythinge that may be legally and fitly required.

Do humbly desire yo^r gratious Ma^tie to referr this peticõn to the right revend Bishopps under whose iurisdictions the peticõners are and unto whom the licensinge of yo^r peticõners doe belonge to call before them the said Dr. and to cause him to declare his intention of such his proceeding therein whereby yo^r peticõners may the better followe their business without fear of falling into errors or dangers ignorantly.

And as in duty bound they shall daily pray, &c.

Att the Court at Belvoir
27 July 1634.

His Ma^tie is graciously pleased to referr the consideracõn of this peticõn and objections annexed to the most Revend the Lo: Archb[isho]pp of Canterbury his Grace and to the Lo: Bpp of London under whose iurisdictions it is alleged the peticõn^rs are to call the said Dr. Chamberlane before them w^th such others as their Lo^pps shall thincke meet for their better informacõn in this cause and to examine this complaint and to take such course for the pet[itione]rs releife and future quiet as shalbee fit.

vera copia. Rd: Freman.

Obiections against the p[ro]iect of Dr. Chamberlane wch: they conceave would give the sole and absolute power either to license or approve of all the Midwifes practisinge in or about London before their admittance.

Dr. Chamberlane practising the art of Midwifery doth itt as a Physitian and hath no more to do w[i]th the Midwifes then other of the Physitians of the Colledge have, whose advice they crave when occasion requyres it and whose Judgem^ts no doubt are, as good as his in any accidents that may befall or concerne women w^th childe vnles itt be in the very act of delivie of vnnaturall and dangerous births, to effect w^ch there is necessitye of using of instrum^ts of iron, being indeed more pperly the work of a Surgeon then a Physition; so w^th manuall practize the said Dr. hath

applied himself more then others by reason few or none can brook the practise thereof.

Div^{rs} preceding Dr. Chamberlane, who have used to deliver women in extraordinary cases, and of as great note and skill (as himselfe may confesse) have not chalenged such superiority or desired such power over Midwifes but have gone on in their owne practise w^{it}hout molestac̃on to the midwifes or attempting any innovation.

Neither have the whole Colledge of Phisitions at any tyme attempted to have the licensing of them, because they were anciently nay allways admitted and allowed by the Ecclesiasticall Courtts upon good caution and advisment of their abilityes and experience.

Neither can Dr. Chamberlane teach the art of Midwifery in most births because he hath no experience in itt but by reading and it must bee continuall practise in this kind that will bringe experience, and those women that desire to learn must be present at the deliv^{ry} of many women and see the worke and behavio^{r} of such as be skilfull midwifes who will shew and direct them and resolve their doubts.

And further Dr. Chamberlane's work and the work belonging to midwifes are contrary one to the other for he deliv^{rs} none without the use of instruments by extraordinary violence in desperate occasions, w^{ch} women never practised nor desyred for they have neither parts nor hands for that art.

And for shewing or reading of Anatomy to them that can doe but little good to better their experience or judgment, except it be when a woman is with child or instant upon her delivery, and anatomies are made of persons w^{ch} suffer by the law, now women p^{r}gnant during their p^{r}gnancy and their lying are exempt for that time, and so cannot be of use in the particular above-mentioned to them, and they have bookes in English of Anatomie w^{ch} will direct them better (most of them being able to read) then his learned Lectures.

If hee do p[r]tend this paines for reformac̃on w[th]out authority it is conceaved, that he must needs be a most unfitt reformer for unsufficient midwifes are his deare daughters and occasion his worke needlessly; oftentimes by their bungling and untoward usage of women and ofttimes through ignorance do send for him, when itt is none of his worke, and so to the damage of the partie both in body and purse do highly increase his profitts. Neither is it meet so farr as they conceave, that he should have anye thinge to do w[th] approving of Midwifes to bee licensed, because such ingagments (as being beholding to him for their licenses to practise being their living and his worke though different, yet having relac̃on one to the other) may be a cause of great abuse in geñall w[ch] few or none shalbee able to discov̄ for such as are p[r]ferred by him may complye w[th] him and make worke for him of sett purpose, or at least send for him when ther is no cause, the more to increase his benefitts and to indeare themselves unto him whom they knowe hath power to take awaye their livings quite or to lessen their practise by discountenancing of them.

And they have heard that his practise is not so fayre as could be wished for in such tymes of necessity, when his p[rese]nt helpe for the p[r]servation of women and their children is required he will worke upon their extremities by making unreasonable demands and bargaynes for his worke, and be paid greate soñes beforehand, knowing that mens persons are easely drawne in such cases wher ther is so little choice and so much danger in delay, yea sometimes p[ar]ties have p[er]ished for want of helpe whilst he hath omitted tyme in standing upon and bargaining for great rewards, especially when the parties bee poore and not able w[th]out making great shift to satisfy his unreasonable demands.

Likewise it is not for nought but very p[ro]bable that the expectac̃on of extraordinary p[ro]fitt and increase of

practise ; hath made him p[ro]mise so liberallye to such midwifes, whose consent he hath gained, and his charity to others in hope to drawe them likewise, to a liking of his p[ro]ject, for hee p[ro]miseth to build almes houses for decayed midwifes, and hath been at charge in great entertaynm[en]ts, giving them venison wine and other delicates wth p[ro]mise of his assured love and fatherly care to his dear daughters that shall consent. And the truth is that he fares to well by the insufficiency of a great many ignorant midwifes, and if they were purged out and none but expert Midwifes continued and allowed his practise would declyne and scarse be knowne by rarely as it was in former ages, neither is any Reformac̃on likely to be, if he be the reformer, for it is not p[ro]bable that he will hurt himselfe or decay his owne benefitts w^{ch} must needs be if he be lesse used.

Therefore do we appeale unto the Ecclesiasticall Courts and Judges whom wee do not doubt upon remonstrance made unto them of the abuses crept in amongst insufficient midwifes and their deputies that they will timely direct a remedy and carefully p[ro]ceed in the admittance of midwifes in the future for the prevention of abuses in the like kind hereafter. And so Dr. Chamberlane shall not need to help himselfe therein.

And therfore they humbly desire that Dr. Chamberlane may be compelled to desist from troubling himselfe and the Midwifes by such unwarrantable meetings and unnecessary and frivolous discourses.

Heer is to bee inserted the resolution of the Bishopp who gave audience to the petitioners on Thursdaye the 4th of Sept : 1634, but it is to long to bee inserted heer.

The date upon which the Archbishop and Bishop gave audience to the petitioners was not, as here stated, on the 4th September, for the document referred to has been

discovered in the Register of William, Bishop of London, which is now preserved in St. Paul's Cathedral.

The inquiry was held in the Archiepiscopal Palace of Lambeth on Thursday, the 22nd October, 1634, before the Most Reverend Father in Christ, William, Archbishop, Primate of All England and Metropolitan, and the Reverend Father in Christ, William, Lord Bishop of London.

The following is a report of the proceedings, which are in many ways very interesting, as they show that the Bishops were in the habit of granting licences in midwifery to men, and acting as Censors over those who practised that art:—

Whereas divers ancient Midwifes inhabiting within the Citty of London and Suburbs thereof admitted by the Authoritie of the Lord Bishopp of London to practise and exercise the Art and Office of Midwifes did in July 1634 preferr a petition unto the Kings most excellent Ma^ty^ shewing that Doctor Chamberlaine practitioner in Midwifery hath of late without any Authority disturbed them by sum̃ons to appeare before him implying a kind of necessity of theire dependance uppon him and approbation by him threatening that hee will not apply his helpe to such women as are distressed in their travile whose Midwifes refuse to appear uppon such his Sum̃ons att his house and conforme themselves to him or his direcc̃ons by which meanes they fearing to bee entrapped or otherwise to preiudice (by some designe of his not knowne to them) the power of the Ordinary by which they are licensed and soe to indanger themselves to incurr suspention by their Ordinarie though willing to submitt to anything that may bee legally and fitly required, humbly desired his Majesty to referre their Petition to the Right Reverend Bishopps under whose Jurisdicc̃ons they are and by whose Authority they are lycensed. To call before them the said Doctor Chamberlaine and cause him to declare the intencon of

such his proceedings herein that they may followe their busines quietly without feare of falling into errors or dangers ignorantly which his Maiesty takeing into his princly consideracon was gratiously pleased to referr the same to the Most Reverend the Lord Archbishopp of Canterbury his grace, and to the Lord Bishopp of London under whose Jurisdiccõns the said Midwifes are, to call the said Doctor Chamberlaine before them with such others as their Lordshipps shall thinke meett for their better informacõn in the cause and to examine the Complaynte and to take such course for the Peticõners releife and future quiett as shall be fitt, According to which direccõn from his Maiesty their Lo^pps^ did require the said Doctor Chamberlaine and other partyes interested in the said busines to appeare before them at the tyme and place aforesaid which they did accordingly, And the said Peticõn with the Articles thereunto annexed exhibited together with the said Peticõn to his Maiesty (and referred to their Lordshipps declareing the inconveniance and abuse that would probably growe if Doctor Chamberlaine should obteyne power to lycense or approve of all Midwifes before they were Lycensed) being openly read Itt was alleadged on the pte of Doctor Chamberlaine by his Councell that hee attempted nothing more than what his Father had formerly endeavoured to effect And produced before theire Lordshipps to that purpose certaine Peticõns or Coppies of Peticõns preferred to King James of blessed memory and to the Lorde of the Councell whoe were pleased to referre the consideracõn thereof to the Colledge of Physitians And alsoe did produce certaine Certificates under some Midwifes handes since in his owne behalfe as likewise a late Peticõn to his Maiesty in psuance of the former designe proposed by his father, Wherein it was desired that there might bee a Sisterwhood or Corporacon of Midwifes and that Doctor Chamberlaine might bee the head or Governor And therein the Midwifes did promise to bee conformable

to such Orders as Doctor Chamberlaine had propounded conceaveing that the same would tend to their owne good as in bettering their skill and in instructing of ignorant Midwifes.

In answere whereunto the Councell on the Midwifes parte did alleadge and confesse it to bee true that the said Doctor Chamberlaine's father and some Midwifes in those times had peticõned King James of blessed memory and the Lorde of the privy Councell for a Corporacõn of Midwifes and that hee might bee their governour And the same being referred to the Colledge of Physitians uppon mature deliberacõn the said Colledge did then make report unto theire Lordshipps That the said proposicõns was very pernitious and unfitt in divers respects Whereupon the same was reiected and Dyed. Further yt was alleadged and confessed by the said Councell That the said proposicõn was received againe by Doctor Chamberlaine but being in Agitacõn and not pfected, Doctor Chamberlaine could not thereby derive any power or authority to himselfe and other Authority hee showed not) to Sumon the Midwifes to meete att his house which hee had almost practised almost a yeare togeather inforceing such their meeting by threatning and other indirect sources. Wherein hee had not onely intruded uppon the Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiccon but tresspassed against the King and State. And likewise the said Midwifes by their Councell did exhibitt unto their Lordshipp's a Certificate from the Colledge of Physitians under theire Colledge Seale occasioned by Doctor Chamberlaines disturbance of the said Midwifes in his lymitting of them to use noe other Physitians but himselfe in all cases concerning Child-beareing Women as is sett forth in a petition presented unto the said Colledge by the Midwifes in the presence of the said Doctor Chamberlaine the Eight and Twentieth of August 1634. Exhibited likewise unto their Lordshipps with the said Certificate; Wherein the said Colledge doe certify that the former practise of Doctor

Chamberlaine's father and also of his unjust and pernicious proceeding and that the Midwifes complaynte is grounded uppon just reason and doth conduce to a timely prevenc̃on of a growing inconvenience That there is noe necessity of a Sole dependance uppon Doctor Chamberlaine because others both Physitians and Chirurgeons have and doe practise the said Art with as good successe and dexterity as himselfe That there is noe such custome used in any other Nation as hee would reduce the Midwifes unto, And that bargaineing for reward before hand is dishonest covetous and unconscionable and contrary to the Statute of the Colledge to which by Oath hee is bound and in fine That his Suit for those and other reasons they cann alledge is unreasonable and inconvenient And the said Councell did further alledge that the Certificates under the Midwife's hands (in favour of Doctor Chamberlaines proposic̃on) was surreptiously obtained, many of them not knowing what they did and most of them being afraid were enforced by threats or wonne by the said Doctor's faire promises and cunning Insinuacon as did app^{e} by a Certificate under more then Sixty Midwifes handes interested in the petic̃ons exhibited to his Maiestie against him whoe did therein desire a Contynuance of being lycensed by theire Ordinary and to bee lett at liberty to make use of any of the Colledge of Physitians in occasions requisite as well of Doctor Chamberlaine as they were formerly used to doe And itt was further urged by the said Councell that Doctor Chamberlaines Father was himselfe lycensed by the Authority of the Bishopp of London as hee himselfe in his petic̃on confessed, And that it was irregular in himselfe to practise the Art of Midwifery without Lycense as had formerly beene used in the like kind And likewise many Crymes in his practize were alleadged and ready to be proved against him by the Oathes of the Midwifes togeather with many indiscreete passages and im̃odesty and undecent behaviours, whereunto noe reply of palidity either in

defence or exoneracõn of Doctor Chamberlaine being made by himselfe or his Councell then present; Itt was thereuppon by their Lordshipps thought fitt, pronounced and Ordered by the Authoritie aforesaid, That the said Doctor Chamberlaine should forthwith bee a Suitor to the Lord Bishopp of London for a Lycence to practize the Art of Midwifery and that hee doe submitt himselfe to take such lawfull Oathes and to perform such duties as shall by his Lordshipp be thought requisite therein And if in the interim any Woman distressed should have occasion to use his helpe before his Lycence were prepared and Oath administered (which was directed to bee donne with all convenient expedicõn) hee should notwithstanding without any pretence or reason grounded thereuppon assist such Women distressed in travile as should desire his helpe and use his best Art and industry in performing that Office And to the end that the Complaynants may hereafter live at peace and quyett and not to be troubled or molested with Doctor Chamberlaine's unlawfull Sumons. Hee was by their Lordshipps cõmannded and required to desist therein and not to call any Midwifes in such kindes before him, nor they in case hee violated the said Cõmannd presume to appeare or obey him therein And if they or any of them shall soe appeare Mr. Doctor Ducke Chancellor of London their Ordinary then present was required to call them before him and to suspend them from the execucon of theire office of Midwifery And it fully appearing unto their Lorshipps that Doctor Chamberlaine was extreamly faulty in compounding for somes of money beforehand with the husbandes or freindes of Women distressed with dangerous and unnaturall travile and delayed to deliver them to the eminent perill and Jeopardy of their lives untill hee had his owne Demanndes; It was therefore Ordered and the said Doctor Chamberlaine was admonished and required indifferently to apply his helpe and skill (when hee is thereunto required) as well to the poor as to the rich

as well to the Midwife of one Midwife as of anothers and not to make any bargaine or Composic̃on before hand whereby to raise to himselfe an unlawfull gaine or to suffer any party in danger of her life to lye unrelieved for want of his present and speedy helpe And in case the said Doctor Chamberlaine shall faill in the performance of his duty in any of the p^{r}mises and complaint thereof bee made to the King's Advocate, his Maiestye's said Advocate being then present was required forthwith to Article and proceede against him in the High Commission Ex officio mero that further Order may be taken for the reformac̃on of the said Abuses as the necessity and urgency of soe weighty a matter shall require.

The anonymous biographer to whom reference has been already made thus writes concerning Chamberlen's project :—

" His next was to get himself created Vicar generall of the Midwives in city and suburbs and for the maintaining a garb, fitting the greatness of his place, he would have a groate for every childe borne within his jurisdiction for which he would have kept good orders and rules amongst them, set up a lecture, and himself a keen reader, unfolded the hard places and passages in *Aretius* and *Aristotle's Problems*, and in all things that concerned women's business, have been a very ready necessary young man, but the midwives (as most women are) being wise enough already, scorned to learn from a man that had no more beard then themselves, refused subjection to him, and set up some other handsome young physikers in the same trade, by which means the Doctor his practice more and more declined, the fool, the porter and some coach-horses are fain to go to grasse, and himself brought to such straights, that *invention* must to work for some other device for a subsistance, which was to go into the Low-Countreys and teach them the art of draining, of caching, salting con-

diting stock fish, new stores for young fry, the rare trick of dancing on the high rope, and shooting water in a Crosse-Bowe, but for all this nothing comes, the butter boxes liked not his physiognomie and held fast their money, and the Doctor is fain to return to his old quarters; whereat his first coming allarms the whole kingdom with his lamentable cry from Ramah—Children brought to the birth, and none to deliver, complains of want of self-love, showing how many infants are lost for want of his knack, that he will do it upon lower terms than formerly without any grief or pain; tells us he is in great want, brought to his first principal, and nine children in the bargain."*

The opposition which Dr. Peter Chamberlen received to his scheme for incorporating the midwives of London aroused in him the strongest feelings, and drew from his pen, in 1647, the following reply to the accusations of those physicians and midwives who had so bitterly condemned his project:—

A Voice in Rhama: or, The Crie of Women and Children.

Echoed forth in the Compassions of
Peter Chamberlen,

Doctour in Physick, Fellow of the Colledge of London and one of his Majesties Physicians Extraordinary.

Bloud (which polutes a land, and cries aloud to heaven) runs yet fresh from the innocent veins of Women and Children, for want of some Charitable Samaritanes to bind up the wounds which Ignorance and Disorder amongst some uncontroled femal-Arbiters of Life and Death, and others daily make. The conscience whereof, as formerly it moved my pious Father to represent it to King James, so hath it me to move it since unto the King, my Master;

* "An Answer to Dr. Peter Chamberlaine's Scandalous and False Papers," by Philolethes. London, 1650.

who (by mediation of that true-hearted Honour of Nobilitie, the Earl of Pembroke and Mountgomery) read the Petition, and vouchsafed a gracious reference.

And it received the teste and approbation of those two learned Columnes of our Facultie, S^r^ Theodore de Mayerne and S^r^ Matthew Lister. The benefit being computed (over and above the bettering of health and strength to Parents and Children) to the saving of above three thousand lives a year in and about London, beside the rest of England, and all other parts where the same Order might have been propogated.

A design (I thought) so full of Pietie that no man would, —so full of Innocencie that no man could,—so full of Importance and generall concernment that no man durst have opposed.

But the Prince of Darknesse had an hour over the Lord of Life: much more might this find enemies, though to their own hurt.

What discredit had it been for a Profession, which lies under common disgrace and contempt, to attain to the Gravitie and Honour of Order and Government?

What burden had it been for a Calling, which requires knowledge, to be made more knowing and full of experience?

What Losse had it been to increase the number of the Living, which cannot but be an increase of employment to all sorts of Trades and Professions whatsoever? yea, to the very Grave-maker, had he but patience to suspend his Harvest till the Young grew up to increase and multiply (not untimely but) more and larger Graves? What shall I conclude? Folly is as certainly wedded to Wickednesse, as Wisdom is to Goodnesse.

They sold their Quiet for Trouble, their Credit for Shame, and their Gain for Losse.

Yet are not some weary of contriving mischief, who (as if the poison of Aspes were under their Lips) cease not to

defame, slander, and Condemn all I have, all I do: not sparing my very thoughts, and future intentions; degrading my Titles, disabling my Practice, mis-construing all my Christian designs, and limiting all my Studies to the bare manuall operations of Deliveries. And they also scandalized with Vncharitablenesse and Avarice.

Neverthelesse, I had patienteed myself with silence had the Publick Good gone on: but finding the Common-wealth still wounded through my sides and so much Bloud at stake: I could do no lesse than remove that obstacle, by publishing a free relation of so much of me as concerns these particulars, or so much of these particulars as may serve to satisfie all that love Truth: without barking at them that bark, or wounding their Names so much as with their own infamous Histories, or mention.

I know to whom Vengeance belongeth, and I have not so learn't Christ as to invade his Prerogative. My duty is to do good for evil, and to enthrone each Member of our Facultie in the true Orb it ought to shine in, were they as willing to accept as I to offer my endeavours. For (alas) it is too grievous to think what a Deluge of Bloud lies on their Graves or Consciences since these thirty years that my Father attempted this Charitie, and thirteen years since I, in his example, revived it. And it were a Querie worth laying to heart, Whether ever these Wars, Plagues, and Troubles will have an end, till some Compassion be had, and Remedie allowed against these Vnprofitable unknown Cruelties: But that's above. I come unto my self.

My birth was in May, sixteen hundred and one, in the Precinct of the Black-friers, London. I boast not the Norman Familie of Tankervile,* nor any Lordly Extraction

* Nevertheless, in the "Herald's Visitation of London," 1634 [Harl. 1476, f. 27 b], he made proof of his descent out of France and usage of these arms by witness—"Gules, an inescutcheon argent and an orb of cinquefoils or: a label of three points;" which arms were also confirmed to his son Hugh in 1664 ("Visitation of London," Harl. 1086, fol. 2).

of England. My rejoycing is to be of the Escapes of Parisian Massacres, and of honest Parents, fearing God, for which beloved, and well reported of by Neighbours.

They gave me education in Schools, Vniversities, and Travels. The vacancy of Schooling was improved to Galenicall and Chymicall Preparations, and some Chyrurgicall Operations, by the assiduous care of an indulgent Father, of known fame and successe in all the Parts of Physick, besides the opportunities I had from others of my Paternall and Maternall kindred, not lightly esteemed of in the same.

At the Vniversitie I piddled in Chyrurgery amongst my fellow-Pupils of Emmanuel Colledge in Cambridge.

I did Publick Exercises in Heydelberg and Padua: and (ere nineteen sunnes had measured out my Nativitie) received the Doctorall Robes of that Universitie, and wore my Scarlet under that worthie Professour of Oxford Doctour Clayton, and the next year under the Doctour of the Chair in Cambridge.

I confesse, my Degree seemed big unto myself, and the pointings of the finger dyed my Cheeks with the reflection of my Robes. Yet I was led into Practice, which God blest with Gifts of Healing.

Then Fame begot me Envie, and secret Enemies, which mightily increased when my Father added to me the knowledge of Deliveries, and Cures of Women. Yet I was admitted into the fellowship of the Colledge of London, and became subordinate unto my Seniors. Thus I grew up to Titles and Priviledges.

But Titles give not Learning, nor Learning Experience: therefore if their Lincius Dragon-eyes could have justly pried into the Deficiencie or Errours of my Practice, I had (no doubt) more loudly heard on't. But to have left little place to men of Learning and Experience to vant their Discoveries or Successe, where I have been gravel'd: and to have been constant to those Remedies which now the

Generality and best approved of our Facultie incline to (as by Apothecaries books of thirtie years past, compared with the present might appear) secure me from just taxations, and vindicate me from the Crowd of the Ignorant, where some pernicious tongues of impudence would rank me.

I might question them what grosse stupiditie they ever observed in me, that being nursed up (as from the Cradle) to all the Parts of Physick, and that in Asclepiad-Families I should be wanting in the Common knowledge of Clysters, Apozemes, Potions, Pills, Juleps, Cordialls and the like, which they are ready (how ignorantly or unjustly soever) to allow to young Apothecaries, and to their very Apprentices. Or what supine neglect, that in twenty seven years I might not have benefited so much by all my Books, Conferences, Observations, and Practice, beside my former Studies and Travels, as to be valued with one of seven years Study of Physick in the Vniversitie without Practice?

I might admonish them of the indignitie they offer to the Vniversities, and to the Colledge of Physicians in London, by doubting my Title: intimating either a Disability in them all to judge, or a Dishonestie in them all, to testifie so partially for Ignorance, and give it place among the Learned.

And for the Limitation of this Title to Deliveries, in regard I obtained the one before I pretended to the other, and that none of the Professours were versed in that way, this might seem to judicious men the most ridiculous detraction of all the rest, and of greatest unlikelyhood. Yet this, by the politick malice of the Vngratefull, and willfull ignorance of the Envious, hath taken greatest place, even amongst many, who ought to be better acquainted with Academick proceedings. They cunningly allow me a transcendency in the particular of Deliveries, that they may the more securely denie me my due in Physick, as if the one were privitive or destructive to the other. And, having

thus denied me the generall, some recoil back, and question even that particular, till they leave me nothing at all. But these are Back-biters, things that hate the light: yet if any amongst them be of sufficient learning and repute to come in competition, and have an itch to prosecute this Calumnie any further, I refuse not (the same as in former times) to enter the Lists (not so much of learned noyse and scolding, which commonly begins in Words, multiplies to Names, and ends in Blows: being hardly determined by the learned, and which I neither love, nor refuse, as) of reall Cures, and written Consultations, wherein both Learned, and Vnlearned may be Judges.

No doubt but all that know me would wonder much to hear me thus plead my Right, but that they cannot but wonder more that there is such occasion given.

Meum and Tuum divide the World into Factions, into Atoms: and till the World return to its first simplicitie, or (as in the morning of the Gospel) to a Christian Vtopia, there will be repinings, and Covetoousnesse will be the Root of all Evil. This, This is the true Cause that fils their hearts with Malice, and their mouthes with Slanders: that what good soever I have done, or endeavoured to do is mis-construed, or forgotten, and the evil I never did is laid to my charge, though I am not free from evil.

I am no Pharisee, yet I justifie my dealings with Men before God and Man, and plead not guilty of the sacrifice of Conscience to that grand Idol Avarice.

First, My Possessions crie not out against me, they being reduced nigh to their first Principles, of mine and my wife's Portion. Onely a better Portion is added to us, of nine small children.

Secondly, The Poor cannot justly clamour against me, they having as freely enjoyed my Counsels and Labours, both in Medecines and Deliveries, as the Rich; even then when the burthen of all the Midwives in and about London lay onely on my shoulders, what ever the virulency of

tongues have blazoned to the Contrary; till some more eager of the employment than my self, and more knowing how to make it gainfull (after I had discharged my Conscience in my offer to the Publick) intruded into what I willingly resigned.

An Argument of no small force to prove the discontents I found in that kind of Practice.

Thirdly, I could not well be guilty of exaction: 1. For that I seldom bargained beforehand, or not above twentie times when exceedingly animated by some fresh injuries and grosse abuses: although I hold not bargains unlawfull, so long as the Labourer is worthy of his hire. 2. They were intrusted with my Operations before they rewarded me with their Purse. 3. I never arrested any for what was due, whether by bargain, promise, or otherwise: although in all abused. 4. I never demanded the full value of the Operation, if equally compared with other matters of price, or other great Operations of Chyrurgery, or mine own chargeable Education, or with any other Examples.

That Operation merits 100$^{li.}$ as well as other Cures or Operations, according to the value of Lives and Estates. Yet for one who hath paid me 10$^{li.}$ I have delivered 100 for nothing, as many for little or nothing, and as many for lesse than nothing; such as thought it a point of wisdom to save their Purse and pay me with Lies and Scandals, insufferable Scandals, and so frequent till they caused me abhor the work itself. Yea, my very Charitie hath been often, and is to this day retorted as an Argument against my due: as if it were a part of great Injustice to have given away or undervalued my Art to some, and not to do the like to all. Because I considered the Case of the Poor, therefore I ought not to be considered of the Rich.

And who will be the Rich in matter of payment? Truly, scarce an Alderman's fellow. Perhaps some one Black Swan or Phenix will be liberall, or pay his money without abatement, or grudging: but 100 for that one will either flip out

of the way, or pay half, or a fourth part (if any thing at all) and that repiningly, and sometimes reprochfully.

This is the fruit of after-games, or prostituting an Art to the Candour of them that know it not: but it must be so no more. To prevent therefore, both dis-content on the one side, and dishonestie on the other, I resolve (as others use to do, and as they have hitherto falsly reported of me) to afford my Labours to none but such as trust me with their money before I trust them with my Art, which I shall afford at 10$^{li.}$ to any that are reputed worth 1,000$^{li.}$ and in lesser proportion to such as shall bring with them the testimonie of their Minister, and Neighbours of their meaner condition: and if the Certificat rank them amongst the Poor I shall as freely as ever give them assistance. But if any (except Kindred, Friends, Patients, or Ministers) addresse themselves unto me without the former Conditions, let them not think it strange if I turn my former affabilities into future denyals, and that I lay my self lesse open to affronts in that kind than formerly.

The Draper is not bound to find Cloth for all the naked, because he hath enough in his shop, nor yet to afford it at the Buyers price. The Lawyer is not obliged to spend his voice and spirits for all the Injured in *Forma Pauperis*, because he pleads well, and shall be heard. Acts of Charitie are more due from Kindred than from Strangers. When a Husband of sufficient means shall not think his Wife nor Child's life worth 10$^{li.}$ I am not bound to bestow that on them which is of more value. I could instance many such kind Husbands, and of late, one who valued his word at above 500$^{li.}$ but the danger of his Wife not above 5$^{li.}$ and that in question of cavelling if need had required it. In summe, I am wholly tired out with the injuries, vexations, and losses of the businesse.

I have served the Common-wealth now twenty seven years, toyling both early and late, not without the frequent hazard of my Life. I have spent my Youth and Industrey

for Food and Raiment, never receiving any Publick Encouragement, or Gratuity, but to be valued beyond my Condition or Demerit in Taxes. I have served these many years the King and Queen by speciall Commands, and in some especiall services, receiving onely one Reward and a Diamant-Ring from her Majestie, but not any stipend at all from Either. And if the same Diligence and Industrie had been imployed with the same Stock either in Trade, Merchandize, or the Laws: or in Negotiations for the Court or State, I cannot think so meanly of Gods endowments and blessings, as not to have culminated with the best of my Equals. But enough of boasting, if yet the Common-wealth may receive the benefit intended: for which I thus argue. First, If my Wages and Titles, are justifiable, why may not the State as well resent a Proposition of Publick Good from me as from another? And if from me, then this is one Proposition I do yet recommend; *That some Order may be settled by the State for the Instruction and Civil Government of Midwives.*

Secondly, Though my Wayes and Dealings were not justifiable, yet why may not so much good as I am able to do herein be accepted, and the evil that is found in me be restrained or punished?

Thirdly, Though I were the worst of men, so as not worthy to be named, yet why are not some more worthy Persons employed in this Proposition, or it examined whether it tend to good or no, and so much as is good be reteined, the rest waved and condemned?

Doth the Argument sound well, that because I am said to be evil, therefore the Common-wealth must want a Benefit of no relation at all to that evil? because I am pretended to be Ignorant, or Covetous, or both, therefore some ignorant Women, whom either extream Povertie hath necessitated, or Hard-heartedness presumed, or the Game of Venus intruded into the calling of Midwifry (to have the issues of Life and Death of two or three at one time in

their hands, beside the consequence of Health and Strength of the whole Nation) should neither be sufficiently instructed in doing Good, nor restrained from doing Evil?

Shall want of President be here objected? May such, as will, nor be Wise, nor religious but by President, ever want President to be either? Yet this hath President in some Foreign examples.

The Objection infers thus much, Because there was never any Order for instructing, and governing of Midwives, therefore there never must be. Because multitudes have perished, therefore they still must perish. Because our Fore-fathers have provided no remedie, nor knew any, therefore we must provide none though we know it. If all our Fore-fathers had subscribed to this Argument, there had never been beginning of those many conveniencies we now enjoy, and we had been left to the World's first ignorance and nakednesse. And it follows also, That because our Fore-fathers adored Idols and Devils, therefore we must do the like.

It may be when Bishops are restored again, their Ordinaries will come in to plead their care.

Of what? Truly that none shall do good without their leave.

That none shall have leave, but such as will take their Oath and pay Money.

That taking this Oath and paying their Money with the testimonie of two or three Gossips, any may have leave to be as ignorant, if not as cruel as themselves, and that none shall have the Priviledge to be so certainly forsworn as these who swear impossibilities: but of Instruction or Order amongst the Midwives, not one word.

O that Christians and well-minded People would lay these premisses to heart. If this *Voice in Rhama*, If this *Crie of Women and Children*, be so loud and lamentable, how ought every one to play the good Samaritane? how ought every man to play the wise Man to consider his own

interest, lest his own health be at stake in it? And though it were a figment, yet ought it not still crie without a hearing.

I call not particularly upon Magistrats and Ministers they commonly are wise, and know best what use to make of such intimations, and how far they are engaged in Conscience to promote it, and by what wayes. And for my self, I suppose I need not appear any further in it. I and my Familie are out of Gunne-shot of the forementioned dangers. I have formerly cast pearls before Swine, and found the issue.

I now have unfolded my Talent from the Napkin. I have washed my hands, I have delivered my soul.

The mighty God of Compassions blesse this Publick Information to his Glory. Amen.

Returning to the "Annals of the College of Physicians," the following entries relating to Dr. Peter Chamberlen are to be found:—

On December 22nd, 1634, complaint was made to the College that divers doctors kept apothecaries who were not free men, and that Dr. Chamberlen had a French apothecary.

On March 28th, 1635, his name appears as an absentee, and not attending the general meetings of the College. He was, as we have already seen, at this time in the "Low-Countreys."

On April 27th, 1638, a letter was read from him to the President, whereby he justified himself for keeping an apothecary in his house.

On September 28th, 1640, he was fined according to the statutes for being absent from the meetings of the College.

On September 30th, 1642, a letter was ordered to be sent to him summoning him to appear at the next meeting.

On May 8th, 1647, it was ordered that Dr. Chamberlen

be sent to by writing concerning the making of his feast, or otherwise to submit to the mulct due by statute. "Dr. Chamberlen excused himself by letter for the present." His reasons were considered, and in the end it was concluded his fine should be lessened to ten pounds, but with condition that it be paid before the first Friday of the next month. This refers to a custom of the College that every Fellow after his appointment should give a dinner to those who had been admitted to the Fellowship.

Baths and Bath Stoves.

Disappointed in his attempt to ameliorate the condition of midwives, Dr. Peter Chamberlen next turned his attention to baths and bath stoves, and petitioned Parliament to assist him in carrying out his scheme. In 1649 he obtained an ordinance from the Lords, granting him the sole making of his baths and bath stoves for fourteen years, which was sent to the House of Commons for concurrence.*

To the Honourable House of Commons assembled in Parliament,

The humble Petition of Peter Chamberlen, Doctor in Physick,

Humbly sheweth,

That if the lives of men, if the health and strength of your owne selves and the Nation, both in peace and war, promised you by a cloud of witnesses of ancient and modern Physicians and Historians, demonstrated by arguments and experience in the use of artificiall Bathes and Bathe-stoves, (beside other matters of consequence) be a subject worthy your grave and serious consultation: Or, if the preventing remedy of the Plague be as worthy your care, as the danger of it in the midst of all your troubles;

* "Journal of the House of Lords." 24 Car. I.

then be pleased to admit this paper into the presse of businesses, humbly to begge for one minute's audience, for two or three of this honourable House to be spared as a Committee, to receive a more full accompt of the Premises, and accordingly to make report. And if then the matters offered shall answer expectation, and of Above, may your Wisdomes cheerfully give them life and being for the publick good. If otherwise, let them be blasted with the doom due to such importunate presumption.

Annotations on the Designe of Bathes.

These are no low dishonourable Designes, having been (formerly) the profuse Magnificence of mighty Cesars.

They are no foolish Novelties, nor antiquated Chymeras or Absurdities, having been used and approved in all ages, and now lately an Octroy of them granted from the States of the Low-Countries, the wisdome of whose Councels manifest daily how solid they are, in being honoured, feared and loved of neighbours at home, and famed and obeyed abroad in both the Indies.

They are not confined to hot or cold Countries, since they abound both in Turkie, Persia, Germany, Hungary, Denmark, Swedeland, Poland, and Moscovia, whose strong, great-bodied, healthfull people, beautifull children, and easie births, give no small testimony to the use of Bathes. Nor are they limited to Winter or Summer, the Emperour Aurelian having made his Trans-tiburine Bathes particularly for Winter, the rest being more for Summer. And Hippocrates prescribed the often use of them in Summer, lesse in Winter.

They can be no prejudice to the State, since the example of all Countries (almost) in the World will vindicate their wisdomes in approving or building them: nor can they be at any losse, if it fall to the Authors share to undertake

them, which he is willing to doe, when enabled by a grant from the Parliament, considerable to the great expence and time of finishing so great a worke. Which kind of encouragement hath not been wanting from former Parliaments unto publike spirits, who have endeavoured a common good.

They can be no grievance or Monopoly:—1. Because there are yet none in England, except the famous Bathes of Somersetshire, which are naturall, and differ in vertue; nor can each weak body or purse be conveyed to them. 2. None can be compelled to use them, but everyone is left free to his owne choice and discretion. 3. They entrench not upon the priviledge of Bathing Tubs, or Sweating Cradles, or any other pidling way; but bequeath them all to their old inconvenient uses. 4. The Author humbly presents this publick designe to the publick purse for what magnificence shall be thought fit; and wholly submits his service in, or reward for the same to the Wisdome of the Parliament. If this be refused, then he desires, that all Physicians, Surgeons, or Apothecaries, or any Noblemen or Gentlemen would joyne in partnership with him, allowing him such a proportion in regard of his former and future expence, study, and care in the contriving and ordering the same, as may be agreed on between them, if the Parliament shall think good so to grant it. But if all refuse, it can be no injustice to grant that to the Author and his heires (being his owne adventure and designe for the publick good) which no man else will accept or undertake. 5. All Physicians, Surgeons, and Apothecaries, (paying the common price) are to have as free use of them for their Patients, as the Author, and appoint and provide what other ingredients they please. 6. Reasonable prices are intended. 7. All licentious incivilities will be prevented by severall places and times for men and women: And men to be attended by men, women by women. Lastly, whatsoever else may be thought fitting, may receive its order and encouragement

from the wisdome and power of Parliament. And if the feare of abuse be objected: Epicures will be Epicures doe men what they can; therefore all men must not be forbidden meat, because some will be Gluttons: nor all men turne* Turkes, because some will be drunk. Thus much negatively to prevent Objections. Now to affirme Truths (according to the merit of the thing) would exact a Volume; but that is not intended here, onely some few heads are offered, and some principall authorities, reserving the rest, together with all demonstrative Arguments, to future leisure or command.

1. In the first place, we may safely affirme the benefit of cleanlinesse, which (certainly) will be controverted by none. Hence followes the prevention of the Plague, which naturally breeds and is contagious through nastinesse, and want of washings, or of ordinary transpirations.

2. No Gentlemen or Merchants frequenting them in other parts, but will affirme their benefit against all wearinesse of mind and bodie, able to revive the spirits of the sedentary Counseller or Scholar, able to restore the limbs of the laborious Souldier, Countriman, or Traveller.

3. They make for the preservation of health, and to that end frequented of old, and now so continued, where used.

Fourthly, for the Cure of most sort of diseases, Dropsies, Consumptions, Feavers, etc., which if Physicians may have but the proverbiall priviledge of a Cobler (to be believed in their owne Art) will be abundantly proved by all the most authentick Authors.

Hence result these conclusions:

1. That as they beautifie the Cities where they are built, so they magnifie the wisdome of the Nations where they are, in providing so for the health and strength of the people.

* Turkes may drink no wine.

2. In regard of so many benefits of preservation of health, prevention of the Plague, and cure of sicknesses, they may be constantly the saving of many thousand lives a yeare.

3. That the longer they are deferr'd the more lives must perish; the sooner they are made, the more lives may be saved.

4. That in regard of saving so many lives, they make much for the glory of God. Therefore what is prejudiciall to none, what is beneficiall to all, cannot but hope for an indulgent acceptation from the wisdome and ingenuity of Parliament.*

The result of this petition was, that a Committee, consisting of Sir James Harrington, Colonel Ludlow, and Mr. Holland, were appointed for considering his propositions,† and they consulted the College of Physicians, from whose annals the following documents are extracted :—

At a meeting, held September 30th, 1648, Letters were read sent from the Committee for Bathes to the President and Colledg of Physitians desiringe their judgments concerning Dr. Chamberlen his Bathes and on the Thursday followinge to deliver in their answere, their objections against or approbation of them. In the meane time a copy of the ordinance granted by the Lords and Comons assembled in parliament to Dr. Chamberlen for the erecting Bathes and Bath stoves was to be taken out by the Colledge wch by reason of the shortness of time could not so conveniently be done and therefore further day (till the Monday following) was granted. At that day an answer was returned by the joynt consent of the Colledge and presented by Dr. Alston, Dr. Hamey Dr. Bates and Dr. Michaelthwait. Copies of the ordinance and answer follow.

* "Medical Tracts." British Museum.

† Dom. State Papers, vol. I.

The Ordinance.

Whereas it is found by great and long experience that artificiall Bathes and Bath stoves (anciently and now cõmonly used in many Countryes beyond the Seas) are of excellent operation both for the preservation of health and recovery of sicknesse, and otherwise very beneficial for encrease of growth and strength of young and olde, the use whereof hath yet never been brought over into this Kingdome unlesse in the old Roman times. And Whereas Peter Chamberlen D^r^ in Physick hath made his Addresses to both houses of Parliament and by his humble petic̃on setting forth that he hath not only been an eyewitnesse of the great usefulnesse of the said Bathes and Bathstoves in other Countryes and spent much time and travaile and been at great charge in searching out the true way and manner of making the same but hath erected divers of them himselfe in the Low Countryes for w^ch^ he hath the authority of the State there and is willing out of his Zeale to the good of his Native Country to undertake at his own costs and charges the making of artificiall Bathes and Bathstoves in this Kingdome w^ch^ as it will be a work of great benefit to all sorts of people as well poore as rich so it must necessarily be a work of vast and transcendent charge to the undertaker All w^ch^ the Lords and Cõmons now assembled in Parliament taking into consideration and being willing to give all just and due encouragement to his undertaking as unto a work w^ch^ is very hon^ble^ in itself and profitable to the Nation in generall Have ordered and ordained That the said Dr. Chamberlen and his Assignes shall have the sole making and erecting of Artificiall Bathes and Bathstoves with their appurtenances of Cisternes Waterworks Engins, Hamacco beds Hamacco sleds Hamacco chaires Hamacco coaches (for the safe and easy setting lying or conveying of weak and sickly persons) within any Cities, Townes within this Kingdome of England and Dominion

of Wales and Kingdome of Ireland and shall have and enjoy the sole benefit profitt and advantage of all the said Bathes and Bathstoves with their appurtenances for and during the terme of fourteen yeares from and after such times as the said Baths and Bathstoves with their appurtenances as beforesaid shall be finished and perfected. And that it shall not be lawfull for any person or persons whatsoever during the said terme aforesaid, otherwise than by the appointment and assignment of the said Dr. Chamberlen to erect or make within the Kingdome of England and Dominion of Wales and Kingdome of Ireland, or in any of them any of the said Baths or Bathstoves or any of the said Cisternes Waterworks Engines, Hamacco beds, Hamacco sleds, Hamacco Chayres, Hamacco Coaches, or any of them or in imitation of any of them And that S^{t} John Esq^{r}. his Ma^{ties} Solicitor Gen^{ll} is hereby authorized and required to prepare a bill containing his Ma^{ties} grant of special Licence and priviledge to the said Peter Chamberlen and his Assignes for the practising and enjoying the premises according to the tenor of this ordinance with such further clauses of restraint to all others during the aforesaid terme to exercise practise or imitate the same under such penalties and forfeitures as by the Law may be inflicted and with such further Clauses non obstante and other provisoes as may be necessary for the encouragement and security of the said Dr. Chamberlen and his assignes in the premises. W^{ch} grant so prepared the Com̃ission^{rs} or Keepers of the Great Seale of England for the time being are to passe under the said Great Seale in usuall forme accordingly. For w^{ch} this present ordinance or the duplicate thereof shall be their sufficient Warrant.

This is a true Copy of the Ordinance referred to the Com^{tee} by the House of Commons.

The Committee being set the third time in expectation of what Objections the Colledge would Offer against the

Ordinances for publike artificiall Bathes, and Bath-Stoves, or whether they would approve of them.

Dr. Alston began as followeth, in these or the like words and Phrases.

The Colledge commanded me to return humble thanks to the Honourable Committee for not giving consent to the Ordinance of Bathes, without them. (Then he proceeded) Having the fear of God before our eyes, and the good of the Common-Wealth, The Colledge do by us return this Answer to the Honourable Committee, that they do not think fit the erecting of publike Bathes should be granted to Dr. Chamberlen, and they think them hurtfull to the Common-wealth.

And the Colledg desires that this honourable Committee signifie so much unto the honorable House.

Then the Committee asked if they had not brought their Answer in writing, whereupon they presented their Paper as followeth:

Reply of the College Monday October 16th, 1648.

The President and Colledge of Physicians returne their humble thanks to this hon^{ble} Com^{tee} for their favour unto them and humbly represent that since the hon^{ble} Com^{tee} is pleased to resolve not to enjoyn Dr. Chamberlen to attend the Colledge concerning his designe of Bathes they can give no satisfactory answer therein. Only whereas publick Bathes have been by their abuse the cause in the Greek and Roman states (where there was greater necessity and less danger of them than in our cold Clime) of so much physicall prejudice in effeminating bodyes and procuring infirmityes, and moral in debauching the manners of the people, y^{t} in either of them upon the coming of the Christians into power they were demolished or converted to other uses. And Whereas for private use there are in the houses of divers persons of this Kingdome Cradles tubs

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boxes chaires bathes and Bathstoves in which by the help of fumes vapours water oyle &c according to the prescriptions of Physitians sweat may be procured payne asswaged and all necessary ends of Bathing attained The President and College are so confident of and presume so much upon the wisdome and justice of this Hon^{rble} Com^{tee} and the two houses of Parliament that they believe if that it shall please them to empower the said Dr. Chamberlane by any ordinance for erection of publique bathes they will so regulate his design make such provision and take such caution from him that none of the aforementioned inconveniences shall follow. And that they will neyther infringe the just liberty of the subject nor abridge other Physitians of the choise of their instrum^{ts} or legall practise of any part of their Art.

Fran: Prujean Collegii
Med: Londinensium Regestarius.

In answer to this reply of the College Dr. Peter Chamlerlen wrote the following:—

To the honorable Committee for Bathes, The humble Answer of Peter Chamberlen, Doctor in Physick, and fellow of the Colledge of Physitians in London, to a Paper delivered to the honorable Committee by Dr. Alston, Dr. Hameus, Doct. Bates, and Dr. Micklethwait, from the president, and others of the said Colledge.

In humble obedience to Command of this Honourable Committee, and in Answer to the Colledg Paper.

In the first place, I say, I willingly passe by all personal aymes, be it, in the mention of my not attendance, (which they are cause of) or in their grand Caveats enjoyned by them on this honorable Committee, and the two Houses of Parliament, upon their Wisdoms and Justice. If they shall empower mee, &c or in their many arguments of abuse to prevent that IF. And am resolved (as God

shall enable me) to swallow all private reproach and scorn, that runs not too much on the publick score.

Secondly, Concerning the Matter it self, I humbly answer, that the Colledg have quite mistaken it; for I presented only the Use of Publick Bathes, and they meddle only with the Abuse of them. Alas, who knows not, that the Abuse of wine causeth drunkennesse; the abuse of women, whoredome; the abuse of meats, gluttony; and the Abuse of Physick, poyson?

Thirdly, I fear they have too much forsaken the Authors of our own Faculty, to side with Poets and the superstitious beginnings of Antichrist, in the aggravations of those Abuses.

Fourthly, I doubt whether they have not mistaken the jealous zeal of Religious Fathers that writ against them; for the insulting Barbarismes of the Gothes and Vandales, and other conquering nations in demolishing those stately Buildings. And whether the self-same writings may not more, or as fitly be applyed unto the private Houses, and those Accommodations mentioned in the Paper. Yea, to the Excellent and famous Bathes of Somersetshire.

Fifthly, I perceive they consulted not well with Travellers, when they affirme them all demolished, or converted to other uses in the Grecian and Romane Empires. For the truth is, that many of them being demolished, Lesser Purses, Power, and Leisure, have not been able to contend in State with the Treasure and Soveraignty of the whole world, which those Emperours had that built them.

Sixthly, I doubt whether it be not a fundamental Heresie in Physick, to necessitate hot Remedies (as Bathes) for hot Countries, and proclaim them dangerous in cold Clymes, notwithstanding the daily experience in Germany, Poland, Denmark, & Muscovia, to the Contrary. And the great Canon of Physick, *contraria contrariis curantur.*

Seventhly, I do verily believe and dare adventure my Life and Estate upon it, that I can (by God's blessing)

more safely, certainly, suddenly, and with more Ease, cure many (if not all curable) diseases with them, then all our Colledg; yea, than all Physitians in the world can do without them. Yea, such diseases as without them are wholly desperate and deadly.

Eighthly, In Answer to some tacit Jealousies, I do not do this purposely to diminish the Practise of Physitians, but verily suppose there may be a way propounded in them, both advantagious to them and the Common-wealth.

Ninthly, I do not endeavour to engrosse them to myself; but have from the beginning, and do still humbly offer it unto the State, or any whom they shall appoint; wherein (if I do not) I verily believe that Dr. Grent will be the best able to serve them.

Lastly, I professe before God and men, that I believe the due use of them in all convenient places, may save above 10,000 lives a year. And that in faithfulnesse to Almighty god, and my Native Country, I have endeavoured this service; from the which, if the honourable Parliament or Committee can discharge me before the Great Judg, I shall give most humble thanks to God and Them, rejoycing to have so escaped the incensed spirits of so many learned men, as now oppose me.

A Vindication of Publick Artificiall Bathes and Bath Stoves

From The Objections and Scandalls obtruded on them, by those that do not, or will not know their great Benefit to the Publick.

By way of Answer to some Fellowes of our Colledge of Physitians in London and others.

By Peter Chamberlen Doctor in Physick, and Fellow of the said Colledge, London. Printed in the yeare 1648.

If Salus Populi be Suprema Lex, These should not

beg a Law that bring you Health attended like a Queen with Cleanlines, Nimblenes, Pleasure, Strength and Stature.

The great Doctor-Makers of the World, Hippocrates Galen, Avicen, Paracelsus, and the rest, speaking of them as of Diett, commend the often use of them, but more in Summer then in Winter: I approve severall of them for Digestion, to make one Fatt or Leane, to be a Preparative for Purgation, to be the Perfect Finisher of Cures, to be Abstersive, Aperitive, Resolving, Provoking Urine, Cooling, Heating, Drieing, Moistening, Easing Paines, Inclining to Sleep, Good against Paines of the Head, the Gout, Convulsions, Mischances, Dropsies, Palsies, Paines of the side, Inflammations of the Longs, Inward Ulcers, Consumptions, Feavers, yea Most Diseases.

Who then can expect that Doctors in Physick, who only pretend to be so for having read these Authors, and for having understood them and practised by their Rules, and maintaine and justifie their practise by their Precept, will seeme so ignorant as to disallow so great and generous a Remedie.

Neverthelesse, there is no doubt but, some may seeke to oppose even their owne good; For Good and Evill are contrary, and Wicked men will grow worse and worse, Tim. 13. 13. Of such men it is an Honour to heare ill To which Honour (I thank God) I have twice arrived unto; Once for Compassionating the generall Miseries and Sufferings of Woemen and Children, by the Ignorance and disorder of some Midwifes and Nurses; And now for endeavouring the Publick Health of the Kingdome. But Regium est malé audire & bené facere. Seneca saith, Sit tibi tam triste laudari a turpibus, quàm si lauderis ob Turpis. And a greater than Seneca tells us, The world shall hate us. Let us heare then what Slander, or Malice will say and such as thereby are ignorantly seduced.

This Country is too Cold.

Germany, Poland, Denmark, and Moscovia are colder, they use them Winter and Summer.

Italie and Greece are colder in Winter then we are in Summer, let us have them in Summer.

They are a Remedie against the Cold. If we complaine of Cold let us have this Remedie.

If Experience approve them not, none will frequent them, the Losse will be the Adventurers.

There are private Hot Houses and Dr. Grent's Bath.

Dr. Grent hath (indeed) attempted somewhat, but so, as the Common Wealth is not sensible of the Benefit, and Hee Himselfe hath quitted the Inconvenience, Charge, and Trouble of them, And when Hee pleaseth may adventure a second Losse, or more safely bee an Adventurer as (others) in mine.

Let every man enjoy what he hath; but not hinder what hee hath not:

Other Doctors have them as well as I:

Why have they not been as zealous to serve the Commonwealth with them as I? They cannot deny them to be good, that were to Contradict their Masters. They will not confesse they fear a diminution of their own gaine. That were to obtrude a strange Maxime to the State; That Sicknes must be provided for Physitians, not Physitians for sicknes; so Sinners for Preachers; and Malefactors for Judges.

If they meane only Bathing Tubbs, wherwith they say they can make shift, I contend not with them, to debar their inconvenient Priviledge, or compell them to this better accommodation; Yet I prescribed the use of them by Mr. Phillips and Mr. Kellet Apothecaries in little lesse than desparat Diseases, before any (but seaven) that are now Fellowes of our Colledge were Doctors, And have appointed not a few in consultations with them since I came over; And they have been more appointed by others

since my Proposall of these publick ones, then in seaven yeares before.

They say they know them (meaning mine) Why then would they take no Cognizance of them till the other day, notwithstanding the King's Graunt of them, by Order to Sr. Hen. Vain about 10 years since, my Octroy in Holland 4 years since, My Petition in Print, and mine own mention to some of them (particularly to Dr. Bates) two years since, and the Diurnall divulging them half a year since, and lastly 2 severall Letters from the Honourable Committee. Who is so deaf as they that will not hear?

But how long have they known them? If long, they have been so long uncharitable in concealing them; if of late, then have they been ignorant of them untill now, probably enlightened or provoked to a further information by my Modell or Propositions. And doth it therefore follow, because they know them, the publick must want them? It were farre better they were ever ignorant.

Lastly, If the onely heart-burning be against me, (though Treasure would not be refused from a Turke, and my long study, experience, and expences in them might answer their Comparison) I had rather lay down all my Merit at the feet of the Parliament, and resign them all my interest (so they would manifest they could do them, and be oblidged no longer to delay them) than that the Kingdom should be longer destitute of so great a good; But if they onely plead for the Dog in the Manger, I dare not so neglect my Native Country and mine own Family, as to let him sleep there.

This will be a Monopoly.

Can there be a Monopoly of what is not?

Or where every man is left free to the use of what he hath or to refuse what he hath not?

Or where no sweat of any brow is exacted without hire, nor poore man's face ground, nor his Bread engrossed, but rather new imployment, and provisions for them?

Publick Workers are distinct from Monopolies, and are not capable of that Odium.

They are no New Invention.

In Solomon's time there was nothing new under the Sunne, Yet what we have not had we yet call new. No question but Trees floated on the water before Noah built his Arke; Nor was there ought created new for the Art of Gunns or Printing, and the Loadstone (without doubt) was from the beginning, though the use but of yesterday. The water running from Ware in another Channel is deservedly called the New River, and is so allowed by Parliament. The very grievance is, that, Bathes having anciently been of that admirable vse and efficacy for the Good of Mankind, they are yet in England to be new Sought out and Studied.

If they be not new where are there any?

Publick Artificiall Bathes and Bath-Houses, with their Architecture, Order, Use, Efficacy, Safety; with some of their Ingredients, and Manner of Decocting them, with their Cisternes, Water-works, Hamaccoes &c. are so very new that they are not understood by many when mentioned, nor the Truth of them believed when affirmed.

They may be occasions of Sinne.

We may with the same reason, pluck down Churches, or anathematize all Publick Meetings, where Men and Woemen appear in the best Clothes and choicest Dresse that can possibly tempt the Eye, although some are neither handsome nor cleanly all the weeke after. Who can answer for the Bathes in Somersetshire, for Innes, for Feastings, for Tavernes, Victualling-Houses, Ale-Houses, All Houses?

These will be Publick, and Publick places are not so fit for Wantonnes as Privat.

Men and Woemen shall have Places, or Times and Attendants of each Sex apart.

Abuse ought not to disanull the vse of Good things.

They are remedies for the Pox.

Though Bathes were good for nothing else, would the Opposers have the whole World infected for want of them, (for that is the fear that Rudius mentions) And the chasted bed is not alwaies exempt by accidentall Conversations, or bad Deliveries, or Child-bed. Would they then be Content to have the Pox without Remedy, that will allow no Remedy for it?

Though they were fit Cures for that Disease, ought they therefore to be prohibited in all other Diseases? Why do they that will make these Objections use Purging-baggs and Diet Drinks, Spring or Fall, whose chief Ingredients are Sarsa Guajacum, China &c. the only known Remedies (of Vegetables) against that Infection.

Physicians cannot allow the Water-Bathes as fit Indications of cure.

Good Remedies they are to prevent but not to cure it, The reason (perhaps,) why the Disease was so unknown to the Auncient, or so little known to the Turkes, and Muscovites, notwithstanding their Luxuries.

The Keepers of the Baths will not so disparage the House, displease their Customers, or hazard their own Profit.

The Patients themselves will not seek for Remedy in such Publick Places, if they may possibly have it elsewhere. These therefore are only Arguments against Privat-house or Bawdy-house Bathes, or against the use of Tubbs and Sweating-Cradles.

To conclude, the Design of Bathes is Honourable, Usefull, Necessary.

Honourable in being the Praise and Subject of 30 Learned Physitians, and 50 other Famous Authours. Secondly, In being the Work and Glory of many Great and Mighty Princes and Emperours. The grand Segnor and Great Duke of Muscovia, not being ashamed to this

day, to own the Patronage and Revenue of them. They having been (aunciently) had in Divine Reverence, and now are next in esteeme unto their Mosques.

And lastly in making those Places Honourable that have them, and those People Honourable in Beauty, Stature, and Activity that frequent them.

Usefull they are in Health and Sicknes, Peace, and Warre, Summer and Winter, so proved by Authority, Experience and Arguments, when required.

Necessary they are in All great intentions of Cure, where other Remedies are nothing beneficiall or sufficient, as Paines of the Gowte, Stone, Childbed; Cure of Many obscure and difficult Diseases in Woemen, Besides Consumptions, Feavers, Melancholy, Leprosie, Plague, Madnes, &c.

To the Candid this is sufficient.

Oh that the Worthies of Parliament (whilst others boast with the Tyrant That they can do evill) would find out a way to do Great things with Expedition, and Difficult things with ease, that the Sonnes of England might be cherished, and not make other Nations happy without our Decay.

To this defence of Baths and Bath Stoves, by Dr. Peter Chamberlen, a long and elaborate reply was published by an anonymous author, under the following title:—

Publique Bathes purged,

Or a reply to Dr. Chamberlain his vindication of publique Artificial Bathes from the pretended objections and scandals obtruded on them, 1648.*

It is full of classical quotations and personal abuse, of which the opening and concluding paragraphs are fair examples.

* Bodleian Library.

"Some men have such an itch to quarrell, that rather then they will want objects they will fight with their owne shadowes, or make to themselves enemies of straw, that they may tear them to pieces and triumph in their ruine. This Dr. Chamberlain in his late Vindication of Publique Bathes: Because he cannot procure all the Fellowes of his Society, all the Physitians in the Kingdome, *jurare in verba*, and give a blind approbation of his sealed projects, he forgeth objections as from them upon his owne anvil, and blowes them away as boyes doe bubbles of sope.

"*Jactat et impositas taurus in astra pilas.* There is good counsell in the proverbs in such a case, and I think the Fellowes of his Colledge will take that. But a man whom he reckoneth in an inferior *classis* may exchange a passe or two with him."

"O that the Parliament were rid of the vexatious importunities of impertinent persons, that so they might the better attend to settle the Publique, which now cryes out like a woman in travaile."

The continued opposition of the Physicians to Dr. Chamberlen's projects was the cause, as he states, of his ceasing to appear among them. At a meeting of the College, held June 4th, 1649, it was ordered that Dr. Chamberlen be sent to by the President, and give his answer on "Wednesday Sevenight." This summons he disregarded, and at length, on November 23rd, 1649, for repeated acts of contumacy, he was, by a vote of the College, dismissed from his Fellowship.

About this time he let his house, for Miles Woodshaw, writing to Lord Conway, on November 11th, 1650, says, "I have taken a lease of Dr. Chamberlaine's house for six years."

The next project of Dr. Peter Chamberlen lacked the practical utility of his schemes for incorporating midwives and erecting public baths. It was a large Utopian idea, and is set forth in a paper which he published, entitled—

The Poore Man's Advocate
or
England's Samaritan.

Powring Oyle and Wyne into the Wounds of the Nation.

By making present Provision for the Souldier and the Poor, by reconciling all Parties. By paying all Arreares to the Parliament Army. All publique Debts, and all the late Kings, Queenes, and Princes Debts due before this Session.

Bonum quo Communius có melius. Truth needs no Corners, nor faithfull Counsels, the dark Scarf-skinne of secrecy.

London. Printed for Giles Calvert, at the Black-spred Eagle, at the West End of Pauls. Aprill 25, 1649.

The whole intention of the Author may be gathered from the following suggested petition to Parliament, with which he concludes his proposal :—

To the Supream Authority of England.

The High and Honorable House of Commons assembled in Parliament.

The Humble Petition of Officers and Souldiers, Citizens and Countrimen, Poor and Rich: and all sorts, with all the Distressed and Oppressed People of England.

Sheweth, That

It being the work of Nature, Reason and Christianity, by which we shall be judged in the last Day, (Mat. 25.) And the very bottom of All Pretences in all States, Councels, and Corporations, *To Cloath the Naked, Feed the Hungry, Visit the Sick, and Relieve the Oppressed:* All former Laws, Statutes, Commissions, and Consultations having been of small effect hitherto; Houses of Correction being more apt to make Men (from being poor) to becom Vagabonds and Beggars, by taking from them the Repute

of so much Honesty as to be trusted with Employment, and Conveying into them a further Impudency, or desperateness, (as by experience is manifest) and many having of late years perished for want of Necessaries: The Lord having now put into your Hands a present Opportunity of adding this great work to all the Mighty works which he hath done by you.

May your Honours be pleased (all due respects being first had to your great Losses, Damages and constant Vigilancy, out of the Kings Revenues, Bishops, Dean's, and Chapter Lands, and Moovables; Delinquents Estates, and Offices) to grant to your Petitioners (or so many of them as shall be thought fit) and to all the Poor of England, the rest of all the Premises. 2. And all that remains due upon publick Accounts. 3. All, or so much of the Commons, Wasts, Forests, Chaces, Heaths, Moors, &c., as is due unto the Poor. 4. All Mines not wrought on at present, all drowned Land, Lands deserted of the Sea, or the Like, they agreeing for what is due to any owner. 5. The sole benefit of all Manufactures, Engines and Inventions either by Sea or Land, by your Petitioners brought into use in England. 6. All parish-collections, and concealed or abused Charities; with power to search all Records, Wills, Church-Books, and Books of Accounts, to that Purpose, gratis: to be as a publique Treasure of the Land, for all publique Designs, in one common joynt Stock.

And some of your petitioners will put in sufficient security. 1. To provide all necessaries for the Army, so long as the Army shall be thought necessary. 2. To join with the Army when occasion requires, and to obey all Civil Commands of the State, as well for suppressing of Insurrections at home, as opposing Forces from Abroad, 3. To pay all the Arrears of the Army within 5 years. 4. To maintain all Publick Ministers of State: And to continue pay (during life) to so many of the Kings

Servants, as in your wisdoms shall be thought fit. 5. To receive all the rest (if they desire it) and all the poor of England, (prisoners and others) and to feed and cloath them and set those that are able on work, those that are not able into Hospitals, and little Children into Schools and Nurseries. 6. To receive all Fraudulent persons, Theeves and Robbers (not guilty of murther) into houses of labor, till they have earned and paid double the Damage they have done. 7. To take off all Taxes within one year, except Customs. 8. To pay all the Debts of the publique Faith which remain due at 6 per cent., within 10 years. 9. To pay all the King's debts due before this Parliament, within 20 years. 10. To set up a publique Banck, as in Amsterdam, Venice, and other places. 11. To erect an Academy for all Exercises for the education of Youth. And if your Honours shall think good, to grant the Fishings, Customs, and Revenues of the Navy &c. then your petitioners will undertake to maintain a constant Navy at Sea, and to secure the merchants at 1 per cent. a month for the Narrow Seas. 2. To take off the Customs from unwrought Materials and Commodities, and Food and Ammunition imported, and lay them upon unwrought Materials and Commodities, and Food and Ammunition exported. 3. To take off all Customs from Manufactures exported and lay them upon Manufactures imported.

Thus may your Honours be eased of great burthens and Molestations: Be free to other great affairs: Vindicate the Integrity of your Proceedings above others: Stop the mouths of your enemies: Take away all Taxes and groanings of the People: Do all the great works of Charity: Reconcile all Parties: gain all the People's Love: Enfranchise their Spirits: Make Trade free: Establish the peace of the Nation: Establish your own Peace before God and Man: and bring down the Blessing of God abundantly upon all your Faithfull endeavors."

Religious Disputations.

During the whole of the Commonwealth Dr. Peter Chamberlen was possessed and swayed by a religious fanaticism, which so completely filled his mind and occupied his time, as to leave no leisure for him to indulge in making projects.

It would only weary the reader to enter fully into this phase of Dr. Peter Chamberlen's life. The following Bibliography gives a good idea of the strength and intensity of the religious enthusiasm which for many years absorbed his thought :—

" To my beloved Friends and Neighbours of the Black-Fryers." 1649. British Museum.

" An answer to Dr. Chamberlen's scandalous and false papers." 1649—50. 4to. British Museum.

" The Dippers plunged in a sea of absurdities or an Answer to Dr. Chamberlaine concerning sprinkling the baptized, by Thomas Bakewell." 1650. 4to. British Museum.

" Doctor Chamberlaine visited with a bunch of his own grapes gathered out of his own Packet of letters to know whether any answer to his question gave satisfaction, and that by his reply to partake of those rare gifts of the Spirit which he proffered to publish in Blackfryers Church. Also an answer to Dr. Chamberlain's reply concerning sprinkling the baptized, by Thomas Bakewell." 1650. British Museum.

" A Letter to Mr. Braine B^r^ of Divinity Concerning an Administrator of Water Baptism." 1650. Bodleian Library.

" Master Bakewell's sea of absurdities concerning sprinkling driven back by Peter Chamberlen." 1650. 4to. British Museum.

" Plus Ultra to the Parliament of England." 1651. British Museum.

"The shipwreck of all False Churches and the immutable safety and stability of the true Church of Christ occasioned by Doctour Chamberlen his mistake of her and of the Holy Scriptures, also by Syllogising words to find out spirituall meanings when in such cases it is the definition not the name by which things are to be truly knowne." By John Graunt. 1652. British Museum.

"Disputes between Mr. Crauford and Doctor Chamberlen." 1652. 4to. British Museum.

"A discourse between Cap. Kiffin and Dr. Chamberlen about Imposition of Hands." 1654. British Museum.

Returning to the biographical sketch of Philolethes, this writer continues (after speaking of Dr. Chamberlen's attempt to incorporate the midwives)—"In the sixth (place) he turns Independent joins with Dr. Homes and for a little while walks very soberly but finding the old blade his rival in woman's matters he conspires against him endeavours to throw him out and puts himself in the saddle, but what end was made of this business I know not but the Doctor has quitted those quarters and now turned Anabaptist; and as Cora, Dathan and Abiram will be famous in some congregation, to make way for his advance, like the fencers of old he resolves to challenge the most famous master of the Science, beaten or not, it skild not, he will bring such judges as shall certainly give sentence for him or in case of extremity make such tumults as shall turn to his advantage. But to be serious a little, he pitches on old Dr. Gouge and in a letter desireth leave to preach in his pulpit which he calleth speaking in publike or to dispute this question in publike '*whether is the sprinkling of infants an ordinance of God or man.*' Dr. Gouge returns him answer that admitting private men to vent heterodox opinions was not hastily to be yielded unto but he would advise of it and give an answer in convenient time. Upon this, this pamphleter thinks he hath got the advantage desired and sends among us in print a most

vain and unchristianlike lying letter '*To my neighbours in Black-friars*,' in which he begins thus—'Being converted I thought it my duty to strengthen my brethren &c.' Dr. Chamberlen craves leave to vent his unsound opinion concerning baptism in Dr. Gouge his congregation. Consider whether such a kind of deportment for a man in your station towards such an ancient reverent pious minister; whether your misemploying so many for the spreading your pamphlets on the Sabbath day be according to the rule of God's Word. Whether your disturbing us attending the Ordinances of Jesus Christ, your imprudence following us to the very Sacrament can at all suit with the profession of a Christian or a Sober Man."* Philolethes concludes his merciless biographical sketch by saying—"Amongst all that have disturbed our peace none have troubled themselves more to lesse purpose, than that learned gentleman Doctor Peter Chamberlaine who to his great renown, as he supposeth, hath given ample testimony to his wit and learning in divers famous two-penny volumes."

There can be but little doubt that Dr. Peter Chamberlen had rendered himself very unpopular by the obtrusive and inconsiderate way in which he endeavoured to promulgate his religious opinions. This is shown unmistakably in a broad sheet entitled, "A dose for Chamberlain and a pill for the Doctor, being an answer to two Scurrilous pamphlets written against the Author of 'The Asses' Complaint'":—

"Now what sayes Chamberlain that Pamphlet monger
What dost thou tell the silly asse of hunger
Should he like thee turn parish clerk and Cozen
Poor souls, and sell his prayers six pence a dozen
Dine upon Midwifes fees, and grease his chaps
With gossips charity and female scraps.

* "Answer to Dr. Chamberlen's Scandalous and False Papers."

"But stay what means the Doctor, has he left
His legal murther and his veniale theft
His plotting with his druggest and the nurse
Not for to purge the body but the purse
And turned a satyrist, Ide thought the man
Had been confined unto a clos-stole pan
But tis a mad world, when hell breaks loose and he
That is a quack talks divinity
Then leave your scribbling sirrah and send your verses
Unto your patients to wipe their a——
Heaven keep this City from quacksalving knaves
That send sound men to their untimely graves."*

The stormy state of existence through which Dr. Peter Chamberlen was at this time passing may be gathered from the following graphic description of a discussion between Capt. Kiffin and himself about the Imposition of Hands:—

Dr. Chamberlain and the Brethren at Mr. More's in Lothbury was invited by Mr. Willis and others on the first day (being 6 Novemb. 1653) to be the fift day following (being Thursday 10 Novem.) at the Glasse House, to assist a Dispute between some of the Congregation meeting with Capt. Kiffin, and himself, about Imposition of hands. But the day being come Capt. Kiffin had put off the Dispute slightly, upon Mr. Tomlinson's not appearing, and every one was now departing much unsatisfied; when at the instant Dr. Chamberlain came in, and being told what had happened, he desired to speak a word, and finding it likely to be put off when the subject whereon he would discourse was known, he ingaged them by the Epilogue of the Confession of the seven Churches to make good their solemn Protestation there to the whole world, that they should be ready to hear and imbrace any further truth that could be offered by any, &c. and calling them to mind how once

* "Luttrell Collection," vol. ii. British Museum.

Baptism was sleighted by ourselves, and yet by the Presbyterians; and Cap. Kiffins excuses being the very same for hands, as the Presbyters to evade the Disputes of Baptism, whereof being publickly convinced, Cap. Kiffin promised to meet next Monday sevennight at Dr. Chamberlain's about it (being 21 Novemb. 1653) where accordingly the meeting was, and Cap. Kiffin took occasion from a book presented him by Mr. Spittlehouse on Thursday before, to raise his Discourse, saying, he was engaged to answer that book, and so Continued an uninterrupted Discourse of about an hour and a half. And having done his Discourse, and offered his Arguments against Imposition of Hands, and the Practisers, Dr. Chamberlain, after some pause, stood up, supposing he should have the like liberty of Discourse without interruption, and began after this manner.

"Sir, I have patiently waited your Discourse and hope you will have the same patience towards me as I have had towards you; and though it doth not so particularly concern me to reply to what you have said concerning the Book, Yet I shall indeavour somewhat, as also to your Arguments.

"And in the first place I will undertake to shew you that the very same Arguments which you have used, are and may be made use of by those that oppose Baptism.

"Secondly. The same Arguments will be like Cannons turned upon your own selves, for non-obedience.

"And thirdly. I shal prove that you have wrested most of those Scriptures."

Hereupon Dr. Chamberlain was interrupted, and Capt. Kiffin and others said, that all that Capt. Kiffin was ingaged to, was to answer that Book to which he was challenged. Dr. Chamberlain said he understood not so much, but howsoever Dr. Chamberlain desired to proceed from what had been spoken. And so began to observe, that the Captain did not ingage himself to what Mr. Oates is said

in the book to affirm, that the doctrine of Imposition of Hands belongs not to all; for he did beleeve it did belong unto all, and that he offered to prove from what went before, and what followed in the Text, for Heb. 6. 1. not laying again the foundations, imported it was once a thing done, and they must leave it to go on to perfection. For else (V. 7. 8.) the earth that bringeth forth thorns is nigh cursing, had no application. For the Apostles purpose is to exalt Christ, and bring the Hebrews above their doating on works to a higher pitch of Contemplation, Heb. 5, 12, and 6, 4. Now therefore the doctrine is here prest upon, and not practice, because that was already done. Therefore note how Capt. Kiffin doth here acknowledge the Imposition of hands on all. But Capt. Kiffin and his company interrupted Dr. Chamberlain his proceedings with many interruptions, and said, he had mistaken Capt. Kiffin; whereupon after severall complaints of interruption, and that upon pretence of mistake of what was said, Dr. Chamberlain desired then that Capt. Kiffin would write down himselfe what he said, and then appoint a time and place where Dr. Chamberlain might give him an answer to what he had so written, which (with some difficulty) was concluded to be on Friday following for the writing to be sent to Dr: Chamberlain about one of the clock, and Monday next (28 Novemb. 1653) to have the meeting at the place and hour as formerly appointed (at Dr. Chamberlain's in White Fryers, at one in the afternoon) and then Dr. Chamberlain should have liberty without interruption to make answer, delivering the same also in writing, and so the company were departing.

But divers willing to improve the time, and desiring Dr. Chamberlain they should not so depart unsatisfied, The Dr. began *de novo*, to treat of Imposition of hands, not in relation to the Dispute, but as from the Text; and first he observed, That it being a doctrine it ought to be taught, and teaching doth necessarily infer practise,

that they might learn, as any Art or Trade that Youth is brought up in, who if they doe not practise what they are taught, are corrected and punished, For teaching and learning are relations, as Father, and Childe, Husband and Wife, the one infers the other. Then as a principle, whether we take it in relation to Honour as chief, or Order, as first, both of these significations being proper to the original word Ἀρχὴ, do very strongly infer the practise. But here the interruptions were so many that Dr. Chamberlain could proceed no further. Whereupon a new Agreement was made that Capt. Kiffin should propound his Arguments one by one, and so Dispute should begin orderly between them.

As Dr. Peter Chamberlen passed into this condition of religious exaltation, which bordered upon and sometimes reached lunacy, by publishing a politico-religious paper during the first year of the Interregnum, so also does he seem to have recovered on the eve of the accession of Charles II., for at this time he printed a pamphlet, of which the following is the title :—

Legislative Power in Problems,

Published for the information of all those who have constantly adhered to the good cause and for the reformation of all those who have embraced the bad cause by Peter Chamberlin Docter in physick (1659).

It consists of seventy-eight problems, proposing that the laws of man should be more in conformity with those of God, the result of which he thus anticipates :—

" Then shall the oppressor cease and no more complaining be heard in the street. Taxes should be no more, and Trade and industry should abound more than in our neighbours blessed Bee-hive. The poor should have bread and the army no more arrears. The youth and flower of our nation instead of being infected with the crabbed

nonsensical study of the laws, or drawing straight lines by crooked rules raise up their noble fancy to the wisdom of Arts and Arms. The depths of Nature and knowledge of the whole world to the honour of God and themselves and not imbesling but enriching of their estates and posterity. Then peace and safety, plenty and prosperity should overflow the land.

" For I P. C. as a servant and witness of the Word of God do testifie with my right hand lift up to heaven that if our present parliament and army shall hearken to the Word of God and fulfil the humble desires of his servant, that all these blessings shall immediately ensue, but if they despise and harden God will overturn and make them desolate as in the twinkling of an eye, and will raise up another authority and power more wise and glorious on whom he will pour his spirit and they shall do these great things and more. For the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it. Isa. 1. 20. and 40. 5, 58. 14.

" *Read and believe, or read and tremble.*"

Upon the accession of Charles II. Dr. Peter Chamberlen was appointed Physician in Ordinary, but the appointment not having been made in a strictly official manner he applied to the King to have it conferred in due form.

The following extract from the State Papers * refers to this subject:—

To the King's Most Excellent Majestie.

The humble Petition of Peter Chamberlen Doct^{r} of Physick the only surviving Physician to their Majesties; before the misrule.

Most humbly sheweth That

Though your Majestie hath been pleased to take Notice of yo^{r} petitioner, and to own him yo^{r} Ma^{ties} Servant: yet becaus of some Formalities wanting (w^{ch} I am ignorant of) I neither dare give the Attendance my Duty requires:

* Domestic, Charles II., vol. xxxi. No. 71.

nor can I ever hope for Pay or Priviledge by yo^r Ma^ties Service, till you are pleased to give Special Order for it to my Lord Chamberlaine.

May yo^r Ma^tie therefore be graciously pleased to signifie yo^r Royal Pleasure herein.

And yo^r pet^r (as in duty bound) shall ever pray, &c.

Annexing.

Doctor Peter Chamberlen, Physitian to Our Royall Father & Mother, Ordinarily Attending Our Happy Births, And (therefore) One of Our First Servants: Is Our Servant & Physitian in Ordinary. Which the Duplicat thereof shall be sufficient to signifie, till Our Letters Pattents doe more amply Declare the Same.

Wittness Our Self, at White Hall, in the Thirteenth Year of Our Reign. Febr: 166$\frac{0}{1}$.

On the 2nd of April, 1662, Colonel Leonard Lydcote, who was a prisoner in the Gatehouse, Westminster, petitioned the King for release, and enclosed a certificate from Dr. Peter Chamberlen, dated March 28th, 1662, to the following effect:—"Colonel Leonard Lydcote has fallen very ill of fever and jaundice through his long restraint and his life will be endangered if he is not permitted to take the air and a course of physic."

"From his Cottage in Coleman Street, 1662," Dr. Peter Chamberlen issued one of the most crazy and unintelligible of his religious papers, bearing the following title:—

"A Speech visibly spoken in the presence of the Right Honourable The Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, by a Ghost in a white sheet of paper; humbly desiring a priviledge, as a Member of both Houses: Being A representative of Many thousand souls Relating to Both."

This pamphlet was printed in London, for the author, and a copy of it is preserved in the Bodleian Library.

Proposal for Propelling Ships and Carriages by Wind.

In April, 1666, Dr. Peter Chamberlen was in Holland, and threw all his enthusiasm and energy into a new project from which he expected extraordinary results. Such faith had he in it that he applied to many countries for patents securing the advantages of the invention to himself and family. He wrote to his son Hugh, in London, to secure the patent in this country, and we have in the State Papers Hugh's attempt to carry out his father's instructions, and the answer returned:—

Vpon the Peticon of Hugh Chamberlaine MD who desires to have a Patent for exerciseing y^e^ invenc̃on of making Ships to saile w^th^in two points by the helpe of the Winde &c.

June 27^th^ 1665.

His Ma^ty^ for the encouragement of the Vnd^r^taker in his proposall, is Graciously pleased to declare, That when he shall have effected what he offers, his Ma^ty^ will readily grant him the full benefitt of the law in that case, in the sole use and exercise of his Invenc̃on, w^th^ what further advantages the proposer and undertaker may desire by the Worke from the Publicke.

Arlington.*

Hon^rd^ S^r^,

I have adventured rather to giue y^e^ weighty imploym^ts^ an interruption by this, than to committ a great^r^ error by my personal attending you at Salisbury because of this p^r^sent great Mortality, w^ch^ I am of opinion might haue been in a great measure prevented, had it pleased God my proposals had been accepted: but this Obiter.

* "Entry Book," vol. xviii.

My business is to acquaint you, y^t^ the Author of Navigating w^th^ all winds hath lately transmitted me a draught of it on paper, w^th^ a prohibition, not to sheu it to any, but his Ma^tie^ when he shall graciously please to commaund me The Author hath now twenty several wayes of performing it: And therfore tis convenient to have their several formes at large recited in a patent: And it may be sufficient barely to insert the proposition, of causing a ship by y^e^ help of y^e^ Wind to make her sail within two points, if not full against y^e^ wind w^ch^ tis evident hath never been yett putt in practice, and is stil so strange, y^t^ many Virtuosi, Mathematicians and Engineers doe hardly beleeue it possible The Auth^r^ is very earnest to haue me endeavour y^e^ passing y^e^ Patent before it be discouvered to his Ma^tie^ lest ther may be delayes afterwards or objections y^t^ it is no new Invention because y^e^ materials are old, w^ch^ must needs be so, since ther is nothing neu except y^e^ ordering and disposing them. But wheth^r^ I shal first discouver it: or gett out y^e^ Patents I shall desire to be guided by his Ma^ties^ Commaunds or yo^r^ advice. The Author likewise excepts ag^st^ y^e^ words of his Ma^ties^ declaration upon my Petition signed by my L^d^ Arlington to effect what is offered, as not enough limited or explained for it may be extended so as to oblige him to build a large vessel upon his own charge, to w^ch^ he thinks it not reasonable to consent: but he is content to giue a rational description of it, a paper draught, or a pastboard or wooden Model in little, at his own charge: And build or alter any Vessel at his Ma^ties^ charge. And he offers further (when his Ma^tie^ shal haue approved of it) to build & furnish with all accommodations for this neu way, as many ships as his Ma^tie^ shall think fitt, at y^e^ same rate, & charge as they are now built, without depriving any of his Ma^ties^ p^r^sent servants of Navy, or Admiralty from their accustomed lawfull profitt, or Ship Carpenters from their employm^t^ in it. If S^r^ y^e^ Authors designe prospers by my

endeavours, I am authorized to present both my L^d^ Arlington, & y^r^self out of y^e^ first profitts what may in some respect be worth y^r^ acceptance. S^r^ if your leisure permitts you to vouchsafe me an answer, be pleased to direct it to my house next y^e^ Crown tavern in threadneedle-street London, whence it will be sent to me. I beg y^r^ pardon for this presumption & remain

S^r^
Y^r^ humble Servant
HUGH CHAMBERLEN

Dated at my house in Mortelack.
25 Aug: 1665.

Indorsed. These
For his highly hon^rd^ ffriend
Mr. Williamson at my L^d^
Arlingtons Office in or nere
Salisbury p^d^ 2^d^.*

April the 27th 1666

HONORED SIR,

I receiued this week one letter from you by Cap: James—another by the post, as to the sueing out a pattent of court I cannot heare it can be done without previous Grant from the King, besides cleare demonstration of it, nor will venture any mony upon it, without indubitable conviction of its possibility, Coll: Napiers promise I will challenge, he is in towne, your Charracter I haue by me, there is lately a proclamation by the King to require 8 or 9 persons by name to returne out of Holland or to be reputed Traytors so that there is no thoughts of our comming ouer without a resolution of neuer returning, besides the publick and private difficultys are many, and greate, which will impede our attempting it. Con is well, and liues with her sister in Kings street Westminster I will inquire out Mrs. Cary and waite on her, and se what

* Domestic, Charles II., vol. cxxxi. No. 12.

she will say to me about what you writ, my wife lookes daly, and thanks you for your prayers, with our humble respects to you, my *mother*, and the rest, is all from

Sir,

Your obedient son

H: C:

Tot myn heer Peter Chamberlyn wooncude op den Hoft van Holland.*

His son Hugh having failed to obtain a patent in England, Dr. Peter Chamberlen determined to come to this country, to see after it himself, and addressed the following petition to Parliament:—

To the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament.

The humble Petition of Peter Chamberlain, Doctor of Physick, *Eldest Fellou surviving* of the Colledge of London; the Onely remaining Physician of the Old Courts, and the First and Eldest Physician to his Majesty that now is, and in Ordinary to his Royal Person.

Most humbly sheweth;

That your Petitioner having (with leave)† been abroad

* Domestic, Charles II., vol. cliv. No. 72.

† Dr. Peter Chamberlen's pass is preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford:—"Carolus, &c. Omnibus Regibus, Principibus, Statibus, vel Rebuspublicis, bonis Amicis nostris et Fœderatis, ad quos Præsentes Literæ pervenerint salutem. Quandoquidem fidelis et dilectus noster servus et subditus Petrus Chamberlaine, Medicinæ Doctor, ex ordinariis nostris medicis antiquissimus magno ingenii sui specimine, quæ artem nauticam non minime promoveant feliciter invenit; Cumque publicæ magis rei quam Privatæ studiosus in animo suo habuit Astri suæ Copiam apud exteros facere, Nos quo fœliciori velo peregrinas terras attingat rogandos duximus quoscunque Reges, Principes, Status, vel Respublicas, Amicos nostros et Fœderatos quod et nostris ubicunque loci subditis firmiter per Præsentes mandamus et injungimus, ut dicto Petro Chamberlaine una cum familia et sarcinis suis, non solum per Dominia, maria, Terras suas quotiescunque res suæ postulaverint, liberum eundi, transeundi, redeundique faciant potestatem, quin et omnibus humanitatis officiis adesse velint, in quo sciant nobis rem pergratam facturos. Dat., &c., 17 die Novemb. 1669." M. S. Rawlinson, C. 172, fol. 139 (Bodl. Libr.).

and returned in his Majesty's Service, Improved with the New Invention of NAVIGATING WITH ALL WINDS IN A STRAIGHT LINE; for the which he hath obtained Patents in France, Venice, and the United Netherlands: To him, his Heirs and Assigns for ever. Without Inducement of any Model or Demonstration, save barely the Curiosity, and Consequential Benefit of the said ART: And upon Consideration of the long Time and vast Expence of the Petitioner, without the least Charges to any other. Prohibiting all others, of what Quality or Degree soever, to Attempt or Use the like either in Small or in Great, in Whole or in Part, or under what Pretence soever, without their Consent: upon Pain of such Weekly Penalties and Confiscations as are there Specified.

Your Petitioner most humbly prays, That having brought the First Fruits hereof to be laid at His Majesty's Feet, and the Nations: he may finde no less Favour and Kindness in his own Native Country, than he hath obtained of Strangers abroad. But that your Honours will vouchsafe him an ACT to all Intents and Purposes aforesaid.

And your Petitioner shall ever pray, &c.

With answers to such objections as envy or ignorance may find against his scheme.

Because Envy or Ignorance will ever finde Objections *to what Good soever is propounded, much more against so Great an Heresie in* Navigation, *which crosseth the Proverb* (Against the Wind) *the Petitioner thought good to prevent such Suggestions from prejudicating the Wisdom of* Parliament, by these Reasons following:—

I. Objection. *It stands not with the Wisdom of Parliament, to grant a Thing so Incredible, which the Learnedest Mathematicians and Expertest Seamen belive not; without a Model or Demonstration.*

Answer.

1. It stands not with the Wisdom of Parliament to refuse a Thing so beneficial, for want of a Model or Demonstration, though Learned Mathematicians and Expert Sea-men believe it not.

2. They believe it not, because they know it not.

3. The *Petitioner* would not for more than it hath cost him, that it should yet be known or believed.

4. Had it been so common, the *Petitioner* had been very unwise to present it to the greatest Mathematicians and Sea-men of the World.

5. The Councils of *England* and *France* are blamed to this day for refusing *America.*

6. Who considers the *Rudder*, the *Loadstone*, the *Half-quarter Wind*, yea, the *Ship* itself: Or *Printing*, *Weaving*, and many other Arts, once as Incredible?

7. The more Incredible, the more Desirable. τὰ μαλά χαλεπὰ.

8. The Wisdom of *France*, *Venice*, and the *Low Countries*, in this have led the way.

9. *Exitus acta probat.* The proof of the Pudding is in the eating.

10. If it be *Nothing*, the Parliament grants *Nothing.* If it succeed, none can complain for receiving Benefit out of what yet never yielded any.

11. If it be *Nothing*, it costs the Parliament *Nothing*, but a FIAT, when as the Credit, or Ruine of the *Petitioner* is at Stake, and hath and will cost him *Many Thousands* to do them and his Country this Service.

12. No man parts with a Jewel, without Price agreed and Assurance.

13. *Reason* of *State* permits no Overture of it, till Secured: and that His Majesty be informed therein, and also His Royal Highness.

II. Obj. *When a Model is made, other Nations may have it also.*

Answer.

1. So 'tis intended.
2. We forbear not Shipping, because others have them.

III. Object. *Other Nations may get it to our Prejudice.*

Answer.

1. We have the more need of it first.
2. This is one reason why yet no *Model.*
3. If we neglect, others may have it, and we not.

IV. Object. *Perpetuity not usual.*

Answer.

1. Nor are such presentments *usual.*
2. The Publick Benefit is perpetual, why not the Publick Reward?
3. 'Tis so granted in other Countries.
4. The Marquis of *Worcester* is a Precedent.
5. Fourteen years may be elapsed, before all the Models perfected: Though some compleated in Six Moneths.
6. The Time and Charge, with Merit of the Service, make their humble Appeal for all.

V. Obj. *The Art may be too burdensom for the Subject.*

Answer.

1. They are at liberty to leave it: 'tis not Imposed.
2. On condition to be allowed within One *per cent.* of the Ordinary Charge for Vessel and Voyage; the *Petitioner* is content to be limited to take no more.

VI. Obj. *The Author too small for so great a Designe.*

Answer.

1. Not if his Services were known and rewarded, as others; Or he wore the Badge of his Ancestors. Or all his Losses repaid.

2. Not if Influenced with the Favour and Indulgence of King and Parliament.

3. HE that gave the Gift, and THEY to whom 'tis presented, can (if they please) answer this Objection.

4. The greatest Atchievements have been performed (sometimes) by persons less considerable.

5. 'Tis rashness without wisdom or justice, to blast the Person, and so all he propounds. *Chi parla al dietro* (*dice l'Italiano*) *parla al* 100. 5. 50. 0.

6. A Pearl is a Pearl, though on a Dunghil.

7. 'Tis time enough to finde fault, when the Petitioner hath failed.*

Dr. Peter Chamberlen's prayer was assented to, as the following extract proves:—

"1668-9. A graunt to Doctor Chamberlain & his assignes of y^e^ sole vse and benefit of his new Invencõn of making Vessells to navigate in a streight Line with all Winds though Contrary, for the terme of ffourteene yeares according to y^e^ Statute in that case provided, with such prohibicõns provisos & clauses as are vsuall in graunts of like nature."†

Having obtained this patent, Dr. Peter conceived the idea that his method of propelling vessels on the sea might be applied to vehicles on land, and sought to patent this new notion by petitioning the King:—

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

The humble petition of Peter Chamberlen yo^r^ Ma^ties^ Eldest Phys: in Ord:

Most humbly sheweth

* State Papers, Domestic, Charles II. vol. cxlii. No. 33.

† Docquet Books, Signet Record Office.

That it being, in general termes included in yo^r Ma^ties Letters Patents to yo^r Petit^r for Navigation, under the Notion of Privat and Publick Works of Strength and Motion, by Sea or Land: to make Coaches, Waggons, Carts, Ploughs, &c. to go by Engine without Horses as yo^r pet^r had seen at Auspurg, about 50 yeares past: and intended it for the Publick Service of this Nation, about 30 y^rs since, had not our Distempers, and Universal Calamities interrupted. But now desirous by these lesser Works, to set the wheeles a goeing for Greater.

May yo^r Ma^tie be graciously pleased, by the same, or other Letters Patents, expressly to graunt to yo^r pet^r, &c. the sole making of such Coaches, Waggons, Carts, Ploughs, &c. to go without Horses. With Prohibition to All Others, for 14 yeares, according to the Statute.

And yo^r Pet^r shall ever pray.*

This petition was also granted:—

"R. xviii die ffebruar con Petro Chamberlaine Doct. in Phisicke the sole use of making sevrall sorts of Vessells or ffabrics small or greate to sayle in a streight line although against the Winde for 14 yeares."†

And after this he presented still another petition to the King:—

Whereas the Divine Art of Navigation was originally from God, for the saving of Mankind from the Waters; which it doth to this day: And by several Additions from time to time (of Rudder, Oar, Sayl, and Compass) doth convey the knowledg of the World and People, from one Nation to another: And is the life of Commerce, and chiefest strength of Islands. But, because of contrary Winds, Voyages are often retarded, and too often lost, with Men, Ships and Goods cast away, even in the very Haven. Against all which remaining inconveniences, Doctor *Peter*

* State Papers, Domestic, vol. cxlii. No. 32.

† Cal. Pat. Rolls. XXI. Charles II. p. 2.

Chamberlen his Majesty's First and Eldest Physician, and in Ordinary to His Sacred Person, affirming (through God's Blessing on his great Studies and Labours) to have found Remedy; hath most humbly petitioned the King's most Excellent Majesty, and the Lords and Commons assembled in this Present Parliament, for an Act to Impower him, his Heirs, Executors, and Assignes for ever (secluding all others) to make or cause to be made several sorts of Vessels or Fabricks small and great, to *Navigate with all Winds in a straight Line without Lavering or Varying the Helm although the Wind be contrary;* and to contrive any Ships, or Boats to that purpose, whereof several Parts may be many ways useful and profitable, both in publick and private works of strength and motion, by Sea and Land, not at all yet so practised. The Lords and Commons Assembled in this present Parliament, having well weighed and considered the unspeakable Benefit of such an Art and Invention, for the Wealth, Strength, and Honour of the Nation, if it succeed; and that it prejudiceth none, save the Author only, if it succeed not. To give encouragement to so new and profitable Invention and vast Undertaking. And by way of Reward for the exceeding great Charge of Experiments with the Time and Industry spent in finding it out: May it please the King's most Excellent Majesty, that it be Enacted, And be it Enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons assembled in this present Parliament, and by Authority hereof, That it shall and may be lawful for the said *Peter Chamberlen*, his Heirs, Executors, and Assignes, for ever, and to such only, as they shall Constitute, and Appoint, and to none else; to Make, Erect, Build, Finish, and Compleat for Voyages, all such several sorts of Vessels, and Fabricks, small or great, and to contrive and build Ships or Boats that shall be able to Navigate with all Winds in a straight Line. And to improve the several parts of the said Inven-

tion, to the use and benefit both of strength and motion, by Sea and Land, in all his Majesty's Kingdoms, Dominions, Plantations and Territories. Provided that none be Prohibited and Hindered from their present Customs and Conveniences now in use. Provided also that if the said Doctor *Peter Chamberlen*, his Heirs, Executors, or Assigns, by themselves, or others, shall not make, or cause to be made some such Vessel, or Fabrick, Ship, or Boat; that may be able to Navigate with all Winds in a Straight Line, (that is to say without Lavering or Varying the Helm, though the Wind be contrary) before the first day of April which will be in the year of our Lord God 1673, Then this present ACT shall be null and void, as if it never had been. And be it further Enacted by Authority aforesaid, that if any Person, or Persons, of what Quality or Degree, of what Company, Corporation, or Association soever, within any his Majesty's Kingdoms, Dominions, Plantations or Territories, shall Make, Build, Counterfeit, Imitate, put in Practice, or use any such Vessel, Fabrick, Ship, or Boat, either in small or great, in whole or in part: Or by Adding, Altering, or Applying them to other Uses, shall pretend the Invention of Navigating with all Winds in a straight Line without Lavering or Varying the Helm, though the Wind be contrary, or the Improvements thereof, to be his or their Invention, whereby to defraud the Intent of this ACT: All such Works and Instruments, all such Vessels, Fabricks, Ships, and Boats, with their Appertenances, shall be forfeited, the one Moiety to his Majesty, the other Moiety to the said Doctor *Peter Chamberlen*, his Heirs, Executors, and Assigns, for ever. And they shall likewise Forfeit for every Week that they shall continue in contempt of the Authority of this ACT. One Fourth to be paid to his Majesty. One Fourth to the Officers, or such Person, or Persons as shall discover the Offence. One Fourth to the poor Seamens Widows, and Orphans of the Town, Port, or City where the Offence is discover'd. And one Fourth to

the said Doctor *Peter Chamberlen*, his Heirs, Executors, and Assignes for ever. And all Offices, and Admiralties, together with all Mayors, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, Water-Bayliffs, and Constables are to take Notice of this same ACT, and to be Assisting therein.*

It is needless to add that this, like the rest of Dr. Peter Chamberlen's projects, although it received the sanction and support of the King and Parliament, failed to secure the material assistance and confidence of the public, and even he speedily abandoned his wild, chimerical dream.

PHONETIC WRITING.

Dr. Peter Chamberlen's next project was "a new art or way of writing and printing true English, whereby better to represent to the eye what the sound doth to the ear than what is now practised," and he obtained from the King a grant of the sole benefit of his invention for fourteen years :—

Charles the Second by the grace of God of England Scotland ffrance and Ireland King Defender of the ffaith &c. To all to whom these p^r^sents shall come Greeting, Whereas wee have been informed by our trusty and well-beloved Peter Chamberlayne Doct^or^ of Physicke our first Physitian in Ordinary that hee hath at his owne proper charge and expence invented and contrived A new Art or way of Writeing and printing true English, whereby better to represent to the Eye what the sound doth to the Eare then what is now practised which may bee of greate vse and advantage to many of our Subjects and hath humbly besought our Grant and Lycence for the Sole benefitt of his said Invenc̃on for the terme of ffourteene yeares according to the Statute in that behalfe provided. Now Know yee that

* State Papers, Domestic, 1668, printed, Bundle 240, No. 190. Small 4to, pp. 3-6.

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wee being willing to incourage the indeavours of such of our Subjects as shall bring out such Arts or Invencõns as may bee of publick vse or benefitt Of our especiall grace certaine knowledge and meere mocõn Have Given and granted and by these presents for vs our heires and Successors doe giue and grant vnto the said Peter Chamberlaine his Executors Administrator and assignes especiall licence full and sole power priviledge and authority That hee the said Peter Chamberlayne his Executors Administrators and assignes by him and themselves and by his and their Deputies Servants and Workmen and such others as hee the said Peter Chamberlayne his Executors Administrators or Assignes shall at any time agree with in our said Kingdome of England Dominion of Wales and noe others, shall and may at all and every time and times during the terme of ffourteene yeares next ensueing the date of these prsents vse practice exercise and enjoy the said New Art or Invencõn by him the said Peter Chamberlayne contrived and invented as aforesaid in such manner as to him or them in their discrecõns shall seeme meete and shall and may have and enioy the sole benefitt and advantage comeing or ariseing thereby or by reason of the said New art or Invencõn from time to time dureing the terme hereby granted To have and to hold and enioy the said Licences Priviledges powers and authorityes advantages profitts and other the prmisses hereby granted or mencõned to bee granted and every of them to the said Peter Chamberlayne his Executors Administrators and assignes for and dureing the terme of ffourteene yeares from henceforth next ensueing fully to bee compleate and ended. And to the end the said Peter Chamberlayne his Executors Administrators and assignes and every of them may the better enioy the full and whole benefitt and sole vse and exercise of his said Invencõn as well within Liberties as without Wee doe by these presents for vs our heires and Successors require and streightly charge and comand

all and every person and persons bodies politique and Corporate of whatsoever degree name or addition they bee that neither they nor any of them dureing the terme of yeares hereby granted either directly or indirectly doe or shall vse or put in practice the said Art or Invencõn soe by the said Peter Chamberlayne invented or contrived as aforesaid nor doe or shall conterfeit imitate or resemble the same nor doe or shall make any addition thereunto or Substraccõn from the Same whereby to pretend themselves the Inventor thereof nor vend or sell any soe written or printed without the licence consent or agreement of the said Peter Chamberlayne his Executors Administratorꝛs or assignes in writeing vnder his or their hands and Seales first had and obtained in that behalfe vpon such paines and penalties as can or may bee inflicted on such offenders for the contempt of this our cõmand in that behalfe. And further to bee answerable to the said Peter Chamberlaine his Executors Administratorꝛs or assignes according to Law and Justice for his and their damages thereby sustained And further Wee doe by these prsents for vs our heires and Successors give and grant vnto the said Peter Chamberlayne his Executors Administratorꝛs and assignes full power and authority that hee they and every of them his their and every of their Deputies Servants or Agents or of any of them (haveing first obtained a Warrant in this behalfe from the Lord Cheife Justice of the Court of Kings Bench for the time being) may with the assistance of Constable or any other lawfull Officer as well within Liberties as without vpon request at convenient times in the day dureing the time aforesaid and in lawfull manner enter and make search in any houses Shoppes or other places where there shall bee iust cause of Suspition for discovering and finding out such persons as shall within the tearme of ffourteene yeares aforesaid imitate or cause to be imitated or shall vse or put in practice the said Art or Invencõn soe by the said Peter Chamberlayne invented and contrived

as aforesaid That soe such Offenders may bee proceeded against and punished according to their demeritts. And further wee doe by these presents for vs our heires and Successors will authorize and require all and singular Justices of the Peace Sheriffs Bayliffs Headboroughs and all other Officers and Ministers whatsoever for vs our heires and Successors for the time being that they and every of them respectively bee from time to time dureing the said terme hereby granted favouring aideing helping and assisting vnto the said Peter Chamberlaine his Executor^{s} Administrato^{rs} and assignes and to his and their Deputy or Deputies Servants or agents or any of them in and by all things in and about the accomplishment of our will and pleasure herein declared and in the exercise and execution of the powers and priviledges herein and hereby granted or menc̃oned to bee granted as aforesaid And moreover wee will and Comand by these p^{r}sents for vs our heires and Successors That our said Officers or any of them doe not molest trouble or interrupt the said Peter Chamberlaine his Executors Administrators or assignes or his or their Deputy or deputies Servants or agents or any of them in or about the vse and exercise of the said Art or Invenc̃on or in any matter or thing concerneing the same or any of them Provided alwayes that if at any time dureing the said terme of ffourteene yeares it shall bee made appeare to vs our heires or Successo^{rs} or any Six or more of our or their Privie Councell That this our Grant is contrary to Lawe or p^{r}eiudiciall or inconvenient or that the said Art or Invenc̃on is not of publick vse or benefitt Then vpon Signification and Declarac̃on by vs our heires and Successo^{rs} vnder our or their Signett or privie Seale These our Letters Patents and all things therein contained shall forthwith cease determine and bee vtterly void to all intents and purposes any thing hereinbefore contained to the contrary Notwithstanding And lastly wee doe by these p^{r}sents for vs our heires and Successo^{rs} Grant vnto

the said Peter Chamberlaine his Executors Administrato^{rs} and assignes That these our Letters Patents and the Inrollment thereof shall bee in and by all things good valid sufficient and effectuall in the law according to the true intent and meaneing of these p^{r}sents and shall bee taken Construed and adiudged most favourably and beneficially for the best benefitt and advantage of the said Peter Chamberlayne his Executors Administrato^{rs} and assignes as well in all our Courts of Record as elsewhere. Notwithstanding the not full and certaine describing of the said Art or Invenc̃on or the way or manner of the makeing or exerciseing thereof or of the true and certaine vse and benefitt thereof. And notwithstanding any other defects incertainties or imperfec̃ons in these p^{r}sents contained or any Act Statute Ordinance Provision Proclamacon or restraint to the contrary thereof in any wise Notwithstanding In Witnesse &c.

May it please yo^{r} most Excellent Ma^{tie}

This containes yo^{r} Ma^{ties} Grant vnto Doctor Chamberlaine yo^{r} Ma^{ties} first Physitian in ordinary of the sole benefitt of his New Invenc̃on of writing and printing true English whereby better to represent to the Eye what the sound doth to the Eare, then what is now practised. To hold to him and his assignes for ffourteene yeares according to the Statute in that behalfe provided wherein is incerted such Provisoes and Clauses as are vsuall in grants of like nature Signifyed to bee yo^{r} Ma^{ties} pleasure vnder yo^{r} Royall Signe Manuall.

ffra: North.

8vo Nov^{eris} 1672.*

Answers to Reports of being Mad, Lost, and a Jew.

Dr. Peter Chamberlen seems to have been exceedingly sensitive to the remarks to which his eccentric life and

* Signed Bills, Chas. II. 1672. Record Office.

writings rendered him liable, and he could not resist replying to the reports which were circulated regarding him.

These answers, which are sufficiently remarkable in their diction, are made still more startling by many words and sentences being printed in italics and capitals, a method which takes up too much space to be imitated here.

The Sober Man's Vindication.

Discovering the True Cause and Manner how Dr. Chamberlen came to be Reported Mad:

Which Scandal they propagated throughout England, Wales and Ireland, and the same false Report was met with in Scotland, France and the Low Countries.

He that hath an Ear to Hear, let him Hear.

I Peter Chamberlen, a Servant of the Most High, through the Mercies of Jesus Christ: First Physician to the Royal Progeny, and in Ordinary to His Sacred Majesty: To discharge my Conscience towards God, my Duty, Love and Faithfulness to my Royal Master, to the Parliament and to my Native Countrey. Do Testifie, in Presence of God, Angels and Men, that the Woes given me to Denounce against the Bloody City, against the Presbyterian Ministers and Lawyers, and against the Idol Parliament, the Bloody Parliament, when they had All the Power in Their Hands, and thought Themselves Immoveable and Secure; Sending it with the Sign of the Bloody Arm to the Lord Major, and to the Speaker that then were, God hath (in part) Fulfilled, to the Amazement of the World. Because they despised Warning from the Lord, and Counsel to Save Many Thousand Lives and Souls: Calling Publick things Private, and Private things they called Publick, Branding Me with the Report of Madness, which Fools and Others Believe, and report to this Day. But God hath returned the Madness on their own heads, though it was my portion then for Disobedience, because

(to avoid the Censure of Madness) I did not personally Proclaim the Woes with a Naked Bloody Arm, and Bare Feet, from the Royal Exchange to Westminster-Hall.

Now let all men Judge, whether the Woes are not come to pass in a great measure. When the City was brought under the Power of the Sword? Her Magistrates Disgrac't, Displac't, and Others in Their room, at the Lust, and Pleasure, or Discretion of the strongest Weapon? But they are not yet Burnt or Massacred (as some Feared, and Others Maliciously reported they should be) by Anabaptists: What they may be by Others of their Own Chusing, if they repent not, is not for me to Determine.

Were not some Woes fulfilled on the Presbyterian Ministers, when Some were Beheaded, Some forced to recant for their Lives, and Many turn'd Independents; and All at this day in Present Danger of Perjury for Compelling Their Scottish Covenant?

Were not also the Lawyers Termes made Vacation, the Inns of Court Desolate, Inhabited by a few Women and Landresses, and Lawyers Gownes Threatned to be Hung up by the Scottish Colours?

But were not the Woes fulfilled most of all against the Parliament so often Pieced and Made up till it became like Sir Francis Drake's Ship (scarce one Planck left of the Old One) yet at last broken up, then Whistled for again by the Souldiers, and broken up again, and by Some of Themselves, with others, revil'd into the Stinck and Scorn of a Rump? Are not All their Members Scattered; their Names Blotted with Ignominy, Some Imprisoned, and Some brought to the Grave in Blood and Sorrow?

Not that I dare Judge them Greater Sinners than Those, on whom the Tower of Shilo fell: for the Words of Our Saviour are, Unless ye Repent, ye Shall All Likewise Perish.

The Arm of the Lord is not shortned. There is yet a Cup of Trembling in the Hand of the Lord.

Many great Works may yet be done, which are not.

I Swear (with my Right Hand lift up towards Heaven, in All fear and Awful Reverence) By Him that Liveth for Ever and Ever. That Made Heaven, Earth and Sea, and All that Therein is.

1. Three Thousand Lives a year may be Saved.
2. The Plague (menaced by Astrologers) Prevented.
3. Distempers of the Nations Healed.
4. The Numerous Poor Maintained.
5. And some Gleanings of the Harvest and Vintage (which might have filled the King's Coffers) Improved.

If His Majesty and Parliament Judge these things Publick, or Necessary; They have more Right and Power to Command My Attendance (who am in subjection and but One) then I have Ability, Wisdom, or Polity, to know their Leisure, and to Solicite them All (who are Many, and in High Places.) But if I be not Credited, and for Want of them any Judgements happen, Their own Conscience will Clear me before the Grand Tribunal; where we must All Appear.

To God onely Wise and Good be All Glory.

Amen.

Fear God. Honour The King.

From my Cottage over against the Low Conduit by the Church in Coleman Street, 1662.

London, Printed by Jane Clowes, 1662.

Non Inventus, or the Lost Sheep (Law-ful-ly) Found.

Doctor Chamberlen the Father, is yet alive and by Gods blessing in good Health and Vigour of Mind and Body, being now above 57 years Doctor of Physick; not so of Midwifery, And First and Eldest Physitian (not Midwife) in Ordinary to His Majesties Person, what need He then Consultations? Do Fathers Learn their Hornbook of Children? If any can undertake to Teach him, they shall

be most plentifully Rewarded according to performances, His Majesty being judge. But for want of Room in Whitehall, (according to His Meritorious Services, and Royal Orders) was Providentially brought to dwell on Garlick-Hill, the lower end of Bow-Lane, between the Cradle and Sugarloaf-Court. Where his Enemies that are so Mad and Malicious, as to Report of him what they wish him, may come and be Cured of their Madness, by their own Eyes: And their Malicious Poyson of Asps, Worm'd out of their Tongues by their own Ears.

Where Knaves, Cheats and Perjur'd-men—Love to-shoot their Bolts at him; and often (Coolingly) to Arrest him, and Imprison him to whom they owe Money and Injure him many Thousands. Yet (that their Villany might come Shorter in Nothing:) They Lawfully (in honour of the Laws and Privildges of England) Coin the Sheriff in his Office, to a False Witness; to Testifie he is not to be Found, who cannot be Hid: and whom they themselves so lately, both Found, Arrested and Imprisoned. Yet by a Lawful Non Inventus, go on to Sue him to an Outlary. And all this against one that Injures no man, nor Owes any Money. As if the meaning of Δικαιω Νομος ὃ κεῖ). were; That the Law is not made For a Righteous man, but for Lawyers and Attorneys, (Genvae fatta per noi, ma no pur voi) For Serjeants and Bailiffs. For the Lawless and Disobedient, And that the People that know not the Law are Cursed.

Yet All these Mischiefs are neer framed by a Law, nor the Practicers of them Allowed by That one Lawgiver, who is able to Save and to Destroy, to whom they must render an Account, as of Treason, Blasphemy, and Usurpation; and what else may be laid to their Charge.

But, were His Majesty Graciously pleased, to Establish a Royal Office of Truth, wherein His Sacred Person might vouchsafe to preside in Soveraignty (according to his Royal Prerogative, and the Oaths of Allegiance and Supre-

macy of all His Subjects; and the true Fundamental Law of the Nation) to Judge Appeals, all Grievances of the People might (insensibly) vanish away, all Injuries Recompenced, and His Majesties Few Hours Gratified with 100000*l.* yearly upon his Happy Birth-day. Or let Doctor Chamberlen Prove to His Majesty what he Prints: For he hides not his Head, as his Lawless Enemies would have him; but may-be Found at his Dwelling on Garlick-hill at the lower end of Bowe-Lane, London.

Vivat Rex, Lex, Grex, in Laudem Dei Opt. Max. per Jesum Christum, Amen.*

To Archbishop Sancroft.†

My Lord

I understand that I have lately been traduced to Yo^r^ Grace as a Jew by a Combination of Ale Hous Gossips, some Mechanick Church Wardens, with their pettifogging Solicitor; of a Name that is not to be found in all his pretended Dwellings. And to countenance their Conspiracy against me, & my Family, have made bold with Yo^r^ Grace's Name, One Barker using it to Suborn Wittnesses against my Daughter: affirming Yo^r^ Grace would very well Reward those that should Testifie against her, what they would have them Testifie. And this can be Proved by those very Persons She tampered with And by others to whom She boasted what Yo^r^ Grace would do in their behalf. To be a Jew as the Apostle writes to the Romans, is a Crown and Honour to any Christian. But as they intended it, in opposition to the Name & Faith of Jesus Christ, I abhor them. Nor can all they are worth make Reparation for the Slaunder & Scandal, & for the Prejudice they do me in my Practice. If therefore Yo^r^ Grace would give me leav to compell them to appear

* State Papers, Domestic, Charles II. vol. cxlii. No. 33.
† Tanner MS. No. 160, fol. 71.

before Yo[r] Grace, to make good their Words: I desire no better Judge to approve my self as Good a Christian, as the 19th Article of the Church of England can require. Which none of my dirty-mouthd Adversaries can prove of themselves. And I shall remain

My Lord

Yo[r] Grace's

most humble servant

21. July 1680 PETER CHAMBERLEN

This report of Dr. Peter Chamberlen being a Jew no doubt arose from his keeping the Jewish Sabbath, and his disputations with that race, of which he gives an account in a sheet entitled

The Sons of the East:

Being an Epistle written in *English* by old Dr. Chamberlen (Eldest Scarlet of Europe) Senior to all Popes, Cardinals, Bishops, and Doctors, now living.) To the Synagogue of the Jews in London, being a Remnant of the numerous People of Israel, scattered into all Countries over the Face of the Earth; who were once the peculiar inheritance, and only Beloved People (above the Nations of the World) wisheth Health, Grace, and Truth, from God the Father of All, by the Means of the True Messiah; whose Coming Israel expects on Earth, and Christians hope from Heaven in Glory. Amen. London 1682*

Greatly Beloved Nation, and People
most Honoured of God,

I dare not but Love, and Honour you; for Salvation is of the Jews, (John 4. 22). And in the Seed of Abraham, shall all Nations of the Earth be Blessed, (Gen. 22. 18.).

I have heard, that some (of the most worthy amongst

* Advocate's Library, Edinburgh.

you) have made some Enquiry after a few Christians, who keep the Sabbath of the Lord your God, and Ours. Wherefore, (by the Providence of God) having been the First that endeavoured to rescue that Commandment from the Triple-crowned-little-Horns Change of Times, and Laws, as was foretold by your Prophet Daniel, (chap. 7. 25.)

I am in some hope, that God may provoke you to Jealousie, by a People that were not then called his People, (Deut. 32. 21.) And having been conversant with several of your Nation in Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries, I think my self the more engaged to salute you in mine own Native Country.

Of all the Synagogues beyond Sea, I found the kindest, and civillest Reception at Genoa, in Italy: Where (after a few words spoken in Italian to the whole Congregation, after which they had intermitted their Devotions) I was invited to the house of Rabbi Abraham Attias, the next Day after the Sabbath; where I met with 5 Rabbies more; purposely come together to hear what I would say, and to confer thereupon.

I had saluted them in the Synagogue, as the Beloved Nation of God, who once were the Head of all Nations; but asked of them, if they did not consider, that now they were as the Tail of all, (Deut. 28. 13.) and lived scattered in all Countries (as *precario*) by Permission? And what Prophet, or Manifestation of God's Love unto them hap they found these 1600 years, since the Crucifying of the Young Man (as they call him) at Jerusalem? Were they ever so long kept from some Prophet, or Manifestation of the Love of God, as since then? So now (being met) I came to closer Questions; and asked them, Whether it was not a wonder, that all Nations (except the Jews) should be willing to believe in a Jew, though they hated the Nation? But the Jews (and none else) hated Him, who was of their own Flesh and Blood. Whereupon (to take off the Obloquy of Christianity) I told them, They

must not think, that was the Christian Religion, which they saw at Rome and Italy (in the Adoration of Crosses, Images, Pictures, Reliques, Wafers, Gods of Flesh and Blood, and the Virgin Mary (Queen of Heaven) no more than we call it the Religion of the Jews, when they worshipped Baalim and Ashtaroth, (1 Sam. 12, 10.) &c. We esteem none to be Jews, but those who live according to the Law of Moses: so I would not have them esteem any for Christians, but those (who in all things) were according to the Gospel of Christ, of which they all did unanimously approve &c.

Reconciliation of the Churches.

At the close of his long life, Dr. Peter Chamberlen conceived one last great project, one more difficult to carry out than any he had yet attempted, and quite as unlikely to be ever consummated as his scheme for causing ships to sail straight against the wind. His hopes and intentions in this matter may be gathered from the following letters, which he wrote to the Archbishops Sheldon and Sancroft:—

*To Archbishop Sheldon.**

My Lord,

Being som Yeares now entred into the Dayes of Labour & Sorrow: the words of Elihu seem to call unto me that Dayes should speak: & Multitude of Years should Teach Knowledge: lest I bear the Reproach of the Hebrewes (5. 12) & the rather, since my Scarlet clameth Seniority in both Universities, being above 52 Yeares standing. So that I ought not be counted a Fool, if I endeavour to prove a Physitian to the Age I live in If otherwise, yet as a Fool receiv my Boasting, whose Talent is written in the Lives of Many Thousands. How much more if permitted

* Tanner MS. No. 42, fol. 36.

to gather Balm, out of the Gilead of Yor Graces Wisdom; whence Leaves may be hoped for Healing of the Nations: which now lie Bleeding half Dead, for want of some Good Samaritan to take Compassion, and to pour the Oyl and Wine of the Word of God into the Wounds which their Friends & Leaders have made by Causing them to Err. For Onely by Pride cometh Contention: and that, not for want of Ignorans, in their Conceited Knowledge. For where there is No Vision the People perish, & are destroyed for lack of knowledge. Oh then how Glorious a work would it be for Yor Grace, to becom Eyes unto the Blind, & Leggs unto the Lame? In plain English (my Lord) Who more fit, & Capable then Yor Grace (influenced with His Maties good liking) to invite the Pope Cardinals, & all the Heads of Jesuits, Sorbonists, Jansonists, Augustins, Dominicans, and Franciscans, together with the Chief of the Lutharans, Calvanists, Socinians, Arminians, & whoever els are for Paul Apollo or Cephas: to meet in Post Paper: and Conspire. Not how farr they can Differ & Quarrel Each other but How Close they can Unite, and become all of Christ: And to that purpose Each to Declare that Chief & Impartial Rule they are perswaded in Conscience to stand by. That if any Depart from their own Rule; they may the more easily be perswaded to subscribe to that Rule that Changeth not. If any Chuse the Church of Rome above the Scriptures, let it be Graunted so that they shew the Certainty of that Church above the Scriptures. And so to begin, as if Christianity were but yet in the Cradle; and to Search the first Authority of all the Ordinances of Christ: where if Wee Ourselves come short, We may by Example . . .* condescention to Our Rule; Convince them of doeing the like. For in Many things We Offend The Designe need not blush to be owned by Parliament if . . . .* & Managed by Yor Better Prudence. ffor if the

* Words obliterated by seal of letter.

Greatest Councills are Needfull to Consult of Warr: how much more to Consult of Peace ?

If it be calld Honour to Overcome & Slay Men by Hundreds how much more to Save Men, by Thousands? If there can be Virtue or Courage in Killing the Body, how much more in Preserving both Soul & Body? This Great Charity though wrapt in Some Undigested Thoughts, presseth into yo^{r} Grace's Presence where if Accepted, & Cherished though, through Infirmity, I dare not undertake to give any Personal Appearance: Yet in writing, I hope, not to be wanting to any Commaunds Yo^{r} Wisdom shall thinck fitt to impose on

My Lord

Yo^{r} Grace's

most humble, and faithfull

though unknown servant

2 Oct. 1673. PETER CHAMBERLEN

*To Archbishop Sheldon.**

My Lord

I durst not trouble Yo^{r} Grace with much thancks, for yo^{r} Great Favour, nor with Excuse for want of my Aged visits. But having my thoughts employed in a Busines of the Largest volume, for the Peace of All Christendom: I thought it most fitt to present the Management & Honour of it to yo^{r} Grace: that, being approved, Yo^{r} Wisdom, & Authority might engage All the Bishops & clergy of England, with His Ma^{ties} Leave & Approbation. While His most christian M^{tie} engagest those of France and Our English Cardinal Norfolk engegeth the Pope & Rest of the Cardinals, to Unite All the Churches of Europe into a Reformation, by Advising about the Angels coming to the greatly beloved Prophet Daniel concerning

* Tanner MS. No. 36, fol. 147.

the Little Triple Crownd Horn's Change of Times & Lawes Which being discovered What Times & Lawes those are. Good Counsell may be taken from those Angels that appeared to the Beloved Disciple John, To Blott out & Escape the Mark of the Beast: & Return to the Keeping of the Lawes of God, & the Faith of Jesus, as celebrated by the Angels. I shall now wayt the signifieing of yo^{r} pleasure to

My Lord

Yo^{r} Grace's
most humble servant
PETER CHAMBERLEN

*To Archbishop Sancroft.**

My Lord

Your Place gives You an Influence over All the Learned Bishops, & Clergy of England. So that if Rome, France, or Other Countries (to whom I have written) will not be Healed. Yett Your Grace may be a Gospel-Samaritan, to pour Oyl & Wine into the Wounds of the Divisions of England.

To the which purpose, I humbly desire Yo^{r} Grace to present this Inclosed to His Ma^{tie}, which I therefore send Unsealed: that Yo^{r} Wisdom may see, there is nothing contained but Loyalty. And I writ to Yo^{r} Grace the Grounds of All Mischief, which I learne of the Angel that appeared to Daniel (chap: 7. 25) Which are the Indications of Curea For Ablatû Causâ, tollitur Effectu. And the Differences, which are Irreconciliable in Specie, are or may be Reconciled in Genere. Though a Man cannot be a Woman, nor a Woman a Man: Yet Both may be Reasonable Creatures. Both maybe Christians. If Yo^{r} Grace thinck good to commaund my Penn, when you have an

* Tanner MS. No. 36, fol. 130.

Assembly, or Convocation, I shall be ready for any Publick Good, as

My Lord

Your Grace's
most Christian servant
PETER CHAMBERLEN

If Yo^r^ Grace want oportunity to deliver this Inclosed, be pleased to send it back.

8th Octob^r^ 1681

*To Archbishop Sancroft.**

My Lord

I most humbly thanck Yo^r^ Grace for presenting my Letter to His Majestie & for returning it to me, upon His Refusal. Which necessaryly obligeth me to beg pardon for so great a Trouble. Tis my Province to do His Ma^tie^ Service, and He not know it: as at His coming into the world & into His Kingdoms. Benè Facere & Male Audire Christianum est. However, if Yo^r^ Grace vouschsafe to influence my endeavour at Universal Reconciliation I shall mot thinck my Labour lost. For I know, the hansom improving of what the Angel Declared to the Prophet Daniel (chap. 7. 25) may do wonders, though begun by

My Lord

Yo^r^ Grace's
most humble
Christian servant
PETER CHAMBERLEN

29 Octob. 1681

To Archbishop Sancroft.†

My Lord

I bear a singular Love, as well as Reverence to Yo^r^ Grace. And, (seeing Our Desolation so neer, as the

* Tanner MS. No. 36, fol. 155.
† Tanner MS. No. 35, fol. 95.

Word of Christ, and His Ma^ties^ Declaration, and Quartered Associations of Addressors, & Abhorrers, & Plotts, & Persecutions do make it) if yo^r^ Wisdom vouchsafe to promote a Reformation I will undertake (upon my Life) to Offer those things which may Unite all Divisions at Home: and Quench the Flames of Warr abroad. Nor will I refuse to Answer any Argument to the contrary, whether from the Conclave at Rome, or any of the College of Jesuits Or any other Roman, Lutheran, or Protestant Penn of Learning: after Your Unquestionable Discretion hath privately debated Matters by Letters & layd yo^r^ commaunds upon

My Lord

Your Grace's
most humble and faithfull
Christian Servant

PETER CHAMBERLEN

26 Septemb^r^ 1682.

*To Archbishop Sancroft.**

My Lord

I writ last to yo^r^ Grace, on the 19th of Sept: (through mistake, marked, the 26) but have no Answer. The Welfare of the Kingdom is Yo^r^ Grace's Interests and the Welfare of the Kings Royal Person, is mine but Desolation ends all. And that is threatned by Him that cannot Lye. But Reformation is most humbly offered, by One that is less than the least of all Christians. Your Wisdom may make the Choice. Either Reformation or Certein Desolation. Reformation is Strange & Difficult. And Your Grace, or His Majestie, or His most honorable Council can do nothing (effectually) without me, much less can I perform anything without You. If Yo^r^ Grace

* Tanner MS. No. 35, fol. 104.

comand, I am ready to give further satisfaction. If not Desolation is at the Door to prevent all endeavours of

My Lord

Yor Grace's
most humble Christian servt
PETER CHAMBERLEN

9 October 1682

*To Archbishop Sancroft.**

My Lord

If there be no Visible Church of Christ in England. Why is the 19th Article? If there be any. Why may not I find it? I have been of 11 Parish Churches, & could not find the 19th Article amongst them all. If Yor Grace can find it in all yor Province though all yor Reverend Bishops search every one his Diocess, I thinck it ought to be as the Threasure found in the Gospel. But if the Little Horn have so worn out the Saints of the most High, in thincking to Change Times and Lawes, that the Church is driven to be Invisible in the wilderness. Were it not a Work worthy Yor Grace & all yor Reverend Bishops, to invite her again to be more Visible. Or to gather a Church of Christ, & make it Visible to the World? In which Grave work, if yor Wisdom, thinck my long Experience usefull, be pleased to comaund

My Lord

Yor Grace's
most humble
Christian servant
PETER CHAMBERLEN

19 Nov. 1682

He also wrote requesting permission to print a disputation upon part of the seventh chapter of Daniel.

* Tanner MS. No. 35, fol. 133.

*To Archbishop Sancroft.**

My Lord

I most humbly beg leav, graunted by yo^{r} own Penn, or yo^{r} Chaplains: to make this One Question in Print, to All Bishops, & Clergy, & both Universities. Who is meant by the Little Horn in Daniel (Chap. 7th) before whom 3 Horn Kings fell, pluckt up by the Roots. Who had Eyes like a man, and his Locks more Stout than his fellowes. And a Mouth Speaking Great things of Blasphemy. Killing & Wearing out the Saints of y^{e} most High and thincking to Change Times & Lawes. To which, if I obtain no Answer, then, after one Moneth, to Publish my Opinion in Print. Submitting to all Examen, or Disputes, in Print: though my Antagonist write from Rome, or St. Omers, for I suppose, it may tend to the Healing of those Divisions, which our Sorrow saith is Depletion of Kingdoms.

My Lord

Yo^{r} Grace's
devoted servant
PETER CHAMBERLEN

April 1682

WILL OF DR. PETER CHAMBERLEN.

In his letters to the Archbishops about the reconciliation of churches, Dr. Peter Chamberlen speaks of his "multitude of years," and of his "scarlet claiming seniority in both universities," which he might do truly, for at this time he was eighty years of age.† We may also conclude that he became conscious that his end was approaching, as his will, of which the following is a copy, was made whilst endeavouring to carry out his last great project:—

* Tanner MS. No. 35, fol. 2.

† He was also quite toothless, as with his instruments was found a tooth wrapped in paper written on, "My husband's last tooth.'

" In the name of God Amen. The ffowerth day of May Anno Domini One Thousand Six Hundred Eighty and One, And in the Three and Thirtieth yeare of the Raigne of our Soveraigne Lord King Charles the Second of England. I Peter Chamberlen Doctor of Phisick his Majesties ffirst and eldest Physitian in ordinary of his Royall Person being weake of Body But of good and perfect mind and memory (All praise be given to God) Doe make and ordaine this my last Will and Testament in manner following (viz) First I comẽnd my soule into the hands of Almighty God my Creator and Jesus Christ my onely Saviour and Redeemer by whose mercy and meritts I beleive and doe assuredly hope to obtaine free pardon and remission of all my sins and offences And to inheritt among the Elect the Joyes and fruition of Eternall life. My Body I comẽitt to the earth from whence it was extracted To be decently buried in sure and certaine expectation of a Joyfull Resurrection att the last day. In respect of my worldly estate which God of his Bounty hath endowed me with I order and dispose thereof as followeth (viz.) Imprimis That forasmuch that I haue already advanced all my children in the world (except my sonne Hope Chamberlen hereafter named) and given them Considerable porc̃ons of my estate Therefore I doe hereby giue and bequeath vnto my deare and loving wife Anne Chamberlen and to my said sonne Hope Chamberlen all and singuler the Rest and remaining part of my said estate be it in ready money Plate Jewells Lands houses houshold Stuffe Debts due to me and owing and otherwise how so ever And I doe hereby nominate and appoint my said deare and loving wife Anne Chamberlen full and sole executrix of this my last will and Testament. Finally I doe hereby Revoake renounce and make vtterly voide and of noe effect all former and other wills by me appointed ordained and made declareing and pronouncing this present Testament to be my true and last Will. In

Witnesse whereof to this my last will and Testament I the said Peter Chamberlen have sett my hand and seale the ffowerth day of May aforesaid.—Peter Chamberlen—Signed & sealed published and declared by the said Testator Peter Chamberlen as and for his last will and Testament in the presence of John Belcher. Ri: Parnham. John Hoyle, scr. John Eld: his servant.—Proved 2 January 1683-4 by Anne Chamberlen rel. & extrix."*

Dr. Peter Chamberlen died in 1683, at Woodham Mortimer Hall,† near Maldon, in Essex, and was buried in Woodham Mortimer churchyard, where his tomb still stands in a dilapidated condition, bearing the following inscription, which is rapidly becoming illegible:—

"Here lyes ye body of Doctor Peter Chamberlen, who was born on the 8th of May, 1601, and dyed on the 22nd of December, 1683, being aged 82 years 7 months and 14 days. He had two wives, and by ye first Jane Middleton,‡ had 11 sons and 2 daughters, and amongst them 45 grand-children and 8 great-grandchildren (whereof were living at his death 3 sons viz. Hugh, Paul and John and his 2 daughters and 20 grand-children and 6 great-grandchildren) By ye second, Ann Harrison, had 3 sons and 2 daughters, whereof only Hope was living at his death, who hath erected this monument in memory of his father.

* P.C.C. Hare, 2.

† Woodham Mortimer Hall, which he purchased of Sir Cranmer Harris, continued in his family till about 1715, when it was sold by his son, Hope Chamberlen, to Mr. Wm. Alexander, wine merchant, who bequeathed it to the Wine Coopers' Company (*see frontispiece*).

‡ The eldest daughter of Sir Hugh Myddelton, Bart., the undertaker and projector of the New River. He lived at Bush Hill, Edmonton, and had four sons and three daughters. By his will, dated 21st November, 1631, he bequeathed to the two younger daughters each a share in the New River and £500, and adds, "Whereas my daughter Jane hath had her full porcion upon her marriage I give to her husband Doctor Chamberlaine and my said daughter Jane the severall somes of ten poundes to buy each of them a ring."

"The said Peter Chamberlen took ye degree of Doctor of Physick in several Universities, both at home and abroad and lived such above three score years, being physician in ordinary to three Kings and Queens of England, viz. King James and Queen Anne, King Charles ye First and Queen Mary, King Charles ye Second and Queen Katherine, and also to some foreign Princes, having travelled to most parts of Europe, and speaking most of the languages. As for his religion was a Christian, keeping ye Commandments of God and faith of Jesus, being baptized about ye year 1648,* and keeping ye 7th day for ye Sabbath about 32 years.

"To tell his learning and his life to men
Enough is said, by Here lyes Chamberlen;
Death my last sleep, to ease my careful head,
The grave my hardest, but my easiest bed;
The end of sorrow—labour and of care,
The end of trouble, sickness, and of feare.
Here I shall sin no more—no more shall weep,
Here's surely to be found a quiet sleep;
Death's but one night, my life hath many seen
My life brought death—death brings me life againe
Seeds rise to trees—hearbes rise again from seed,
Shall bodies then of men obtain worse speed?
We dayly dye entomb'd in sleep and night,
But in the morning we renue our light;
Hence spring my joyes and comfortes evermore
I cannot feele but what Christ felt before.
Wee now believe, and heare, and talk by guess,
Then I shall see, and what I see possess;
And when I wake wrapt in Eternal light,
Of God and Christ, I know no more of night;

* It will have been noticed at the commencement of this biography that he was baptized as an infant four days after his birth. This must refer to his baptism as an adult when he joined the Anabaptists, who reject infant baptism.

any relation to Fras. Smith ; (bookseller at the Elephant and Castle in Cornhill) whether he had the books from any one else, or knows of any that had : Smith says that he had some from him."*

On the 28th May, 1663, Hugh Chamberlen, senior, was married by license at St. Paul's, Covent Garden, to Dorothy, daughter of Colonel John Brett. by whom he had three sons, Hugh, Peter, and Middleton, and one daughter, Dorothy. In 1666 Hugh Chamberlen, senior, interested himself in freeing the city of the plague, for in the Record Office is preserved the following written paper by him :—

A few propositions concerning the Plague by H. C.

1. That 'tis very probable the plague will increase again this ensuing year.

2. That (in case y^e^ plague would in few weeks of itself totally cease) yet it might by the right use of proper meanes be driven away in fower.

3. That as there are secondary causes of it ; so are there secondary remedies ag^st^ it, promising as much reason, certainty and success, as most other sublunary undertakings.

4. That now is y^e^ best time to endeavour it, both for saving greater expenses, certainty, & speed & safety.

5. That though £100,000 were expended on it, yet (if successful) would y^e^ advantages thence to his Mat^ies^ affayres and the Citty be a manyfold requitall !

6. That greater sums have been expended upon designes of as little infallibility, and that no designe is infallible.

7. That it concerns every inhabitant of y^e^ Citty, if not of y^e^ whole Nation to contribute towards y^e^ charge in a regular tax.

8. That freeing y^e^ citty is a work very different from curing a patient. It being as well political as Medicinal, &

* Domestic, vol. xli. p. 57.

requiring y^e^ Authority of y^e^ Magistrates as well as y^e^ skill of y^e^ Phisitian.*

The name of Hugh Chamberlen next appears in the State papers connected with affairs in Ireland:—

S^r^, yesterday about non my book woman came & tould me shee heard there were great disturbances & troubles in Ireland & desired to know of me what truth was in it. I tould her non as I heard & soe asked her what shee heard. Shee tould me that a bookwoman y^t^ serues one doctor Chamberlayne tould here upon ffryday that hee had a letter from his ffather from Dublin wherein hee wrote That for seuerall Miles nere Dublin that there was nothing but killing and slaying & that Dublin stood upon their guard, & hee would haue giuen the letter to y^e^ woman to gett printed but she refused it. I haue desired my book woman to persuade the other book woman to gett the letter if Shee can from doctor Chamberlane to putt it to print. And if shee can gett it to bring it to me: but as yet I here noe more of it. what I may here farther of it tomorrow I know not. This doctor Chambrlane some tyme had a chamber and laye at Mr. Adrians in this parish and I suppose keeps his Chamber there yet coming as I here thether euery daye about Change tyme but his principall house is in your end of the towne. Soe farr as I can learne this Chamberlayn is sonn to doctor Chamberlane the Man Midwife and a Notorious Phanatik. What the result of such news maye proue in theise ticklish tymes I leaue to the y Judgment of those to whom all good loyall Subjects ought to be just & obedient. I wrote to this effect to Captain Gahan our Gouernor of y Office in Dublin to acquaint those concerned there to looke after y^t^ Chamberlayne, that dares write such dangerous and treacher^s^ relations. And that I would endeauour the like

* Domestic State Papers, Charles II. vol. clvii. May, 87.

here. I acquainted S^r^ Phillip ffrowd with what I heard & hee tould mee hee would endeauour to acquaint my Lord with this yesterday in y^e^ After non. If hee could meet with his hon^r^ or you: this Mr. Adrian y^t^ liues in our parrish though a parrishner and comes some tymes to our church yet he is a member & one of the heads of y^e^ dutch church as I haue heard, and an able rich Man, but y^e^ consequence of such relations passing amongst such ꝑsons is presented soe farr as I here it. And left to your vse & consideration & I am

S^r^ Yo^r^ most obliged servant

JAMES HICKES

April 7^th^ j. 66.

ffor the hounb^le^ Joseph Williamson Esq Secrt to the R. H. the Lord Arlington his Ma^ty^ Principall Secrt of State At Whithall

from Ja: Hickes.*

We now arrive at one of the most important events in the medical biography of Hugh Chamberlen, senior, the incidents connected with which are graphically described by Mauriceau, in his "Observations sur la Grossesse et l'Accouchement," as follows:—

Observation xxvi.

D'une femme qui mourut avec son enfant dans le ventre, qui, n'en put jamais etre tiré par un Médecin Anglois qui avoit entrepris de l'accoucher.

Le 19 Aout, 1670 (says Mauriceau), j'ai vu une petite femme, âgée de 38 ans, qui étoit en travail de son premier enfant depuis huit jours, ses eaux s'etant écoulées dès le premier jour qu'elle avoit commencé à se trouver mal, sans presque aucune dilatation de la matrice. Etant restée

* Domestic, Charles II. vol. cliii. No. 1.

en cet état jusqu'au quatrième jour, je fus mandé pour en dire mon sentiment à sa sage femme, à laquelle je conseillai de la faire saigner ; et au cas que la saignée ne produisit pas le bon effet que l'on en pouvoit espérer, de lui faire prendre l'infusion de deux drachmes de sené pour lui provoquer les douleurs qu'elle n'avoit point : ce qui fut fait le jour suivant, et réussit assez bien, ce remède lui ayant excité des douleurs qui dilatèrent la matrice autant qu'il étoit possible. Néanmoins pour tout cela elle ne put jamais accoucher, et son enfant qui venoit la tête devant, mais la face en dessus, resta toujours au même lieu, sans pouvoir avancer au passage, que cette femme, qui étoit très-petite, avoit tellement étroit, et les os qui le forme si serrés et proches l'un de l'autre, et l'os du croupion si recourbé en dedans, qu'il me fut entièrement impossible d'y introduire ma main pour l'accoucher, quoique je l'age assez petite, lorsque je fus mandé pour lui donner ce secours, trois jours ensuite de la première fois que j'avois vue : de sorte qu'y ayant tâché inutilement il ne me fut pas possible d'en venir à bout, ne pouvant introduire ma main qu'avec un extrême effort, à cause de l'étroitesse du passage d'entre les os : et l'ayant introduite elle se trouvoit si serrée, qu'il m'étoit impossible d'en remuer seulement les doigts, et de la faire avancer assez pour pouvoir conduire un crochet avec sûreté afin d'en tirer cet enfant, qui étoit mort depuis près de quatre jours, suivant l'apparence ; ce qu'ayant essayé je déclarai l'impossibilité d'accoucher cette femme à tous les assistans, qui en étant bien persuadés, me prièrent de lui tirer son enfant du ventre par l'opération Césarienne : laquelle je ne voulus pas entreprendre, sçachant bien qu'elle est toujours très certainement mortelle à la mère. Mais aprés que j'eus laissé cette femme en cet état, ne m'étant possible de la secourir, comme j'aurois fait toute autre qui auroit en une disposition du corps plus naturelle, il survint aussitôt un médecin Anglois, nommé Chamberlen, qui étoit alors à

Paris, et qui de père en fils faisoit une profession ordinaire des accouchemens en Angleterre dans la ville de Londres, où il a acquis depuis ce tems-là le suprême degré de réputation en cet art. Ce médecin voyant cette femme en l'état que je viens de déclarer, et ayant appris que je n'avois pas trouvé aucune possibilité de l'accoucher, témoigna être étonné de ce que je n'en avois pas pû venir à bout, moi, qu'il disoit et assuroit être le plus habile homme de ma profession qui fut à Paris; nonobstant quoi il promit d'abord de l'accoucher très assurément en moins d'un demi-quart d'heure, quelque difficulté qu'il pût y trouver: pour quoi faire, il se mit aussitôt en besogne, et au lieu d'un demi-quart d'heure, il travailla durant plus de trois heures entières, sans discontinuer que pour reprendre haleine. Mais ayant épuisé inutilement toutes ses forces, aussi-bien que toute son industrie, et voyant que la pauvre femme étoit prés d'expirer dans ses mains, il fut contraint d'y renoncer, et d'avouer qu'il n'étoit pas possible d'en venir à bout, comme je l'avois bien declaré. Cette pauvre femme mourut avec son enfant dans le ventre, vingt-quatre heures après les extrêmes violences qu'il lui avoit faites; et par l'ouverture que je fis de son corps, en lui faisant après sa mort l'opération Césarienne, que je n'avois pas voulu lui faire, comme j'ai dit, durant qu'elle vivoit, je trouvai son enfant et toutes les autres choses disposées comme je les ai specifiées ci-dessus, et la matrice toute déchirée et percée en plusieurs endroits par les instruments dont ce médecin s'étoit servi aveuglément sans la conduite de sa main, laquelle pour être une fois plus grosse que la mienne, il n'avoit vraisemblablement pas pû introduire assez avant pour l'en préserver. Néan moins ce médecin étoit venu d'Angleterre à Paris depuis six mois, dans l'espérance d'y faire fortune, faisant courir le bruit qu'il avoit un secret tout particulier pour les accouchements de cette nature. Se vantant de faire les plus désespérés et abandonnés en moins d'un demi-quart d'heure et il avoit même proposé a M. le

premier médecin du Roi, que si on vouloit lui faire donner dix mille écus de récompense, il communiqueroit son prétendu secret. Mais la seule expérience de ce facheux accouchement le dégôuta tellement de ce pays-ci, qu'il s'en retourna peu de jours ensuite en Angleterre : voyant bien qu'il avoit à Paris de plus habiles gens en l'art des accouchemens que lui. Mais avant que de partir pour Londres, il me rendit visite chez moi, pour me faire compliment sur le Livre des Accouchemens que j'avois donné au Public depuis deux ans : et me dit pour lors, qu'il n'avoit jamais, trouvé d'opération si difficile à faire, que l'accouchement de cette femme, dont il n'avoit pas pu venir à bout, me louant de ce que je ne l'avois pas voulu entreprendre aussi inconsidérément qu'il avoit fait. Je reçûs son compliment comme je devois, lui faisant entendre qu'il s'étoit bien trompé en croyant trouver autant de facilité à accoucher les femmes à Paris comme il avoit pû trouver à Londres,où il s'en retourna dès le lendemain, emportant avec lui un exemplaire de mon Livre, qu'il fit imprimer après l'avoir traduit en Anglois, en l'année 1672, depuis laquelle traduction il s'est acquis un si haut degré de reputation en l'art des accouchemens dans le ville de Londres qu'il y a gagné plus de trente mille livres de rente, qu'il possède présentement, à ce que m'ont dit depuis peu des personnes de sa connoissance. S'il lit quelque jour cette observation lorsque je l'aurai rendu publique et qu'il soit aussi sincère que je le suis, je crois qu'il avouera que je l'ai rapportée avec toute la religion que peut demander une vérité très constante, dont il peut fort bien se souvenir. L'extraordinaire difficulté qui se rencontra en cet accouchement m'a fait inventer un instrument, auquel j'ai donné le nome de tire-tête, pour son usage, qui est incomparablement plus commode, et plus sûr que celui des crochets. Si j'avois en pour lors un pareil instrument, je suis certain qu'avec son aide j'aurois pû sauver la vie à cette femme. J'en ai fait représenter la figure dans mon

Livre des accouchemens, ou j'ai enseigné très exactement la manière de s'en bien servir.

It is quite true, as here related, that Hugh Chamberlen, senior, did translate Mauriceau's work into English, and for many years it continued to be the most popular text-book with all who practised midwifery. The first edition appeared in 1672, and contained a preface by the translator, which was repeated without alteration in all subsequent editions. It contains many remarkable statements, which have been quoted and criticised by writers in all civilised languages. It is here transcribed:—

Courteous Reader;

Having long observed the great Want of necessary Directions how to Govern Women with Child, and in Child-bed, and also how new-born Babes should be well ordered, I designed a small Manual to that purpose; but meeting some time after in France with this Treatise of Mauriceau, (which, in my Opinion, far exceeds all former Authors, especially Culpeper, Sharp, Speculum Matricis, Sermon, &c. being less erronious, and enriched with divers new Observations) I changed my Resolution into that of translating him; whom I need not much commend, because he is fortified with the Approbation of the Wardens of the Chirugeons Company of Paris.

His Anatomy was in the first Edition omitted, but is in this; which with the Book I have carefully rendered into English for the benefit of our Midwives; of whom many may yet very well admit of an additional Knowledge. The principal thing worthy their Observation in this Book, is, accurately to discover what is properly their Work, and, when it is necessary to send for Advice and Assistance, that so, many Women and Children may be preserved that now perish for want of seasonable help. My Author makes out the breaking of the right Waters, for the proper Season of a natural Delivery, and (when-ever a Child is

not born then, or soon after) Nature is so much short of performing her Office. This is certainly a great Truth, and all wrong Births should never be longer delayed: And for the most part Floodings and Convulsions not so long, lest the Woman lose her Life before ever the Water breaks: But if no dangerous Accident intervene, in a right Labour, one may lengthen out their Expectation to twelve Hours after; and, tho some may have been happily delivered 24 Hours, or two Days after, yet I should not advise any to run that hazard, provided they can have an expert Artist to deliver them, without destroying the Child; because many have perished in that Case; and it is not prudent to venture, where but one of many escapes: For the longer the Labour continues after the breaking of the Waters, the weaker both Woman and Child grow, and the drier her Body, which renders the Birth more difficult; and tis ever good taking Time by the Foretop.

And that Midwife's skill is certainly the greatest, and she deserves most Commendation, who can soonest discover the Success of the Labour, and accordingly either wait with Patience, or timely send for Advice and Help.

Nor can it be so great a Discredit to a Midwife (let some of them imagine what they please) to have a Woman or Child saved by a Man's Assistance, as to suffer either to die under her own Hand, altho delivered: For, that Midwife mistakes her Office, that thinks she hath performed it, by only laying the Woman; because her principal Duty is to see that she and her Child be well, with Safety and Convenient Speed parted; and, if this be impossible for her, and feasible by another, it will justify her better to wave her imaginary Reputation, and to send for Help to save the Woman and Child, than to let any perish, when possible to be prevented; as in the case of my Author's Sister, in the 20th Chapter of the first Book. Yet, in Countries and Places, where Help and good Advice is not seasonably to be had, Midwives are compelled to do

their best, as God shall enable them; which dangerous and uncertain Trials it doth not become them to put in practice upon Women, where no timely Assistance need be wanting. Most wrong Births, with or without Pain; all Floodings with Clods, tho little or no Pain, whether at full Time or not: All Convulsions; and many first Labours; and some others, tho the Child be right, if little or no Pain, after the breaking of the Waters, and the Child's not following them in some six or ten Hours after, require the good Advice of, and, peradventure, speedy Delivery by expert Physicians in this Practice: For tho a few may escape in these cases, yet the far greater Number perish, if not aided by them. Let me therefore advise the good Women, not so readily to blame those Midwives who are not backward in dangerous Cases to desire Advice; lest it cost them dear, by discouraging, and forcing them to presume beyond their Knowledge or Strength, especially when too many are over-confident.

Those few things wherein I dissent from my Author, if of dangerous Consequence, are noted in the Margent; if not, are left to the Discretion of the Reader.

I confess he is often too prolix; a Fault which the French much affect; however, I chose rather to translate him according to his own stile, than contract him; and also to leave unaltered some things not very well expressed, being of small moment. I find also he distinguishes not between the words Plaister and Ointment, but uses them promiscuously one for the other.

* In the 17th Chapter of the second Book, my Author justifies the fastning Hooks in the Head of a Child that comes right, and yet because of some Difficulty or Disproportion cannot pass; which I confess has been, and is yet the Practice of the most expert Artists in Midwifery, not only in England, but throughout Europe; and has much caused the Report, That where a Man comes, one or both must necessarily die; and is the reason of forbear-

ing to send, till the Child is dead, or the Mother dying. But I can neither approve of that Practice, nor those Delays; because my Father, Brothers, and my Self (tho none else in Europe as I know) have, by God's Blessing and our Industry, attained to, and long practised a way to deliver Women in this Case, without any Prejudice to them or their Infants; tho all others (being obliged, for want of such an Expedient, to use the Common Way) do, and must endanger, if not destroy one or both with Hooks. By this manual Operation a Labour may be dispatched, (on the least Difficulty) with fewer Pains, and sooner, to the great Advantage, and Without Danger, both of Woman and Child. If therefore the use of Hooks by Physicians and Chirurgeons, be condemned, (without thereto necessitated through some monstrous Birth) we can much less approve of a Midwife's using them, as some here in England boast they do; which rash Presumption in France, would call them in Question for their Lives.

In the 15th Chapter of this Book, my Author proposes the Conveying sharp Instruments into the Womb; to extract a Head; which is a dangerous Operation, and may be much better done by our forementioned Art, as also the Inconvenience and Hazard of a Child dying thereby prevented, which he supposes in the 27th Chapter of this second Book.

I will now take leave to offer an Apology for not publishing the Secret I mention we have to extract Children without Hooks, where other Artists use them, viz. there being my Father and two Brothers living, that practise this Art, I cannot esteem it my own to dispose of, nor publish it without Injury to them; and think I have not been unserviceable to my Country, altho I do but inform them that the forementioned three Persons of our Family, and my Self, can serve them in these Extremities, with greater Safety than others.

I design not this Work to encourage any to practise by it, who were not bred up to it; for it will hardly make a Midwife, tho it may easily mend a bad one. Notwithstanding, I recommend it to the perusal of all such Women as are careful of their own and their Friends Safeties, there being many things in it worth their noting: And designing it chiefly for the Female Sex, I have not troubled myself to oppose or comment upon any Physical or Philosophical Position my Author proposes. I hope no good Midwives will blame me or my Author for reprehending the Fault of bad ones, who are only aimed at and admonished in this Work; and I am confident none but the Guilty will be concerned and take it to themselves, which I desire they may, and amend. Farewell.

HUGH CHAMBERLEN.

From my House in Essex-Buildings.

Hugh Chamberlen had now obtained considerable medical reputation, and his father, anxious to procure for him royal patronage, presented to the King the following adroit petition:—

To the King's most Excellent Majestie.

The humble Petition of Peter Chamberlen MD. the onely remaining Physitian of y^r^ Royal father & y^r^ Ma^ties^ First and Eldest Physitian & in Ordinary to y^r^ Sacred Person.

Most humbly sheweth—

That having served the Court (as Doct^r^ of Physick) in y^r^ Royall Grandfathers dayes, & Ordinarily in service all y^r^ Royall ffathers dayes, & y^r^ Ma^ties^ Physitian in Ordinary ever since y^r^ happy Return. Having lately also lost a Son in y^r^ Ma^ties^ Service, & his Eldest son admitted Physitian Extraordinary to y^r^ Ma^tie.^

He most humbly prayes, that his s'd Eldest Son may

be admitted in Ordinary, to supply the Defects of his Aged Attendance: w^th^out putting y^r^ Ma^tie^ to further charge: but that one Salary may serue both.

And y^r^ Petit^r^ shall pray &c.*

Dr. Peter Chamberlen was, as he always seemed to be, successful in his appeals to Royalty for favours, as is here shown:—

"1672-3. Feb. A Graunt vnto Dr. Hugh Chamberlain of y^e^ place & office of one of his Ma^ties^ Phisitians in Ordinary in Reversion after y^e^ Decease or other Determinac̃on of y^e^ Interest of Sir John Hinton kn^t^† who at present enjoys y^e^ same. Together w^th^ all y^e^ Rights Salarys Allowances Profits & priviledges therevnto belonging during his Ma^ts^ pleasure."‡

"R. X^o^ die Octobris 1673 Hugh Chamberlaine Doctor in Physick to bee his Matyes Doctor in Ordinary."§

This appointment gives us the date of the death of Sir John Hinton, which Dr. Munk informs us he failed to discover.

Narcissus Luttrell presents a few scraps of biographical interest relating to Hugh Chamberlen, senior:—

"1679-80. January. The beginning of the month, one who was industrious in promoting petitioning being sent for to a tavern in the Strand by some gentlemen, who pretended to subscribe the same, but instead thereof they took and tore it, and complaint hereof being made to Justice Chamberlain, he granted his warrant for them, and

* State Papers, Domestic, Charles II. vol. cxlii. No. 31.

† "By the King's (Charles I.) command he attended the Queen, then 'great with child and weake, having fitts of the mother and a violent consumptive cough,' to Exeter, where she gave birth to the Princess Henrietta. He attended the Queen in her confinement, and shortly afterwards saw his royal patient into Cornwall and safely embarked for France."—"Munk's Roll of the Coll. Phys." London, vol. i. p. 330.

‡ Docquet Books, Signet, Record Office.

§ Cal. Pat. Rolls, xxiv. Charles II. p. 2.

ordered a prosecution against them. Since this Dr. Hugh Chamberlain is turned out of Commission of the peace."

"1681. Sept. His Majestie hath conferred the honour of Knighthood on Dr. Hugh Chamberlain at New Markett as was reported; but this since proves a mistake."*

Elias Ashmole also gives the following:—

"Nov. 16. 1683. Mr. Deane of Windsor and Dr. Chamberlain the Civilian brought Sir John Faulconer of Scotland to dine with me."

Another curious historical fragment may be inserted here. Cooke, in his "History of Party," commenting on the birth of the Pretender, speaks of Hugh Chamberlen as "A known Whig who had suffered for his political principles"—vol. i. p. 453.

"1686 June. A Pardon to Hugh Chamberlain of all Treasons misprisons of Treason, Insurrections, Rebellions, & other Crimes & Offenses by him comitted before the first day of June instant, and of all Indictments Convicc̃ons Paines & fforfeitures by reason thereof: With such Clauses and non obstantes as are usuall in Pardons of like nature."†

In 1685 Hugh Chamberlen, senior, published a small medical work, entitled, "Manuale Medicum: or a small Treatise of the Art of Physick in general and of Vomits and the Jesuits Powder in particular by Hugh Chamberlain,‡ Physitian in Ordinary to His late Majesty, and Fellow of the Royal Society,§ London, 1685."

* "Historical Relation of State Affairs, from September, 1678, to April, 1714." Oxford, 1858, vol. i. pp. 33 and 128.

† Docquet Books, Signet, Record Office.

‡ It will be noticed here Hugh, senior, does not spell his name in the usual way, nor assume the title of M.D.

§ Hugh Chamberlen, senior, was admitted a Fellow of the Royal Society on the 2nd November, 1681. On election he was described as "Dr. Hugh Chamberlain," and on admission the last syllable of his name is changed to "lane."—"Journal Book of the Royal Society."

The author treats all diseases by evacuation; bleeding, sweating, purging, and vomiting are the remedies he recommends in all cases, but he is more particularly attached to the last; and, concerning it, gives the following obstetric illustration :—"Even as the womb in labour, with collected strength from all parts, contracts itself closely to the upper parts whereby it may bring forth the birth: so also the stomach tyred with the injury of things offensive, by compressing the bottom is by force wholly moved upwards, throwing out all that is offensive by vomit" (p. 26).

In his preface to this book, which was written for the use of a son he sent to the East Indies, he says :—"I do not pretend to write anything of which our physitians are ignorant but what for reasons best known to themselves, they rarely put in practice: and therefore hope it may be no crime unpardonable to refresh their memories, as well as guide the patient in some measure to judge whether he is skilfully and candidly dealt with by his Physitian."

The tone of this book was evidently not intended or calculated to secure the good-will of physicians practising in London; and, as a consequence—or, it may be, coincidence—the College took action against him, calling in question the method of treatment urged in his "Manuale Medicum," ending, as will be seen by the following extracts from the "Annals of the College of Physicians," in his condemnation and punishment :—

ACTION OF THE COLL. OF PHYSICIANS OF LONDON AGAINST HUGH CHAMBERLEN SENIOR.

Comitia Censoria 16 Martii 168⅞.

Dr. Chamberlain was asked by what authority he practised physick in London his reply was that he could shew them the broad seale for his being Physician his late

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Majestie. He was answered that was at an end with the death of the King and desired to submit himself to be examined for license to practise within the City and he promised to appear before the Board again next Friday.

Comitia Censoria 23 die Martii 168$\frac{7}{8}$.

Dr. Chamberlain did not appeare but complaint being made ag^{t} him by Dr. Charlton for giving a woman with Child 4 vomits and 4 strong purges in one weeks time having first bled her thrice and after salivated her upon which she continuing in a lingering condic̃on at length dyed. He was ordered to be sumoned against next friday when Dr. Charlton promises to bring the Witnesses.

Comitia Censoria Martii 30. 1688.

Mr. John Willmer of Friday Street London did depose that his Wife Mrs Phœbe Willmer being taken ill of a paine in her right side under her short ribb together with a great difficulty of breathing having but 14 weeks to go with Child Mr. Hugh Chamberlain Sen^{r} was sent for to take care of her, who thereupon gave her in the space of nine days four vomitts, four purges and caused her to be bled three times to the quantity of eight ounces each time : Then gave her something to raise a spitting after which swellings and Ulcers in her mouth followed ; about 3 or 4 days after her taking this, she miscarryed, and it was attended with a loosenesse and she continued languishing till she dyed. Soon after she was brought to bed the Nails of her fingers grew crooked, the skin from her feet and fingers all scaled off. The Patient's Husband proposed to him to have the advice of a Physician but he refused it, Speaking very much in his own praise saying that no Physician could do the Cures wch he had done & very much villefied other Physicians.

John Wilmer.

Anne Bick of the Parish of St. Augustins Old Fish Street was Nurse to the above said Mrs. Phoebe Wilmer twelve weeks beginning above a week before her miscarrying & continued till within a month of her death She averrs the above to be the truth and hath affirmed it the day and year above said.

The mark of
Anne ϕ Bick.

Witnesse
Barn[d] Randolph
Henry Hills Jun

The same Anne Bick doth further declare that the Vomits did each of them make her extreamly sick and worked violently six times or more.

The mark of Anne Bick
ϕ
Barn[d] Randolph

Mrs. Deborah Gotherson did depose that Mrs. Willmer was bled by the order of Mr. Chamberlain twice in one day, taking 8 ounces at a time; after her taking the thing to make her spitt, she was full of pain in her tongue, wch did swell very much, and a rume did run continually, out of her mouth, sometimes to a quart in a day, but at last lesse, when that wch she spitt was stringy and very thick. She was never before subject to any rhume, or spitting; but rather of contrary constitution. Mr. Chamberlain would have bled her again that day, she went out of Towne but none would consent to it finding her very weak. Two days after that she was in the Country he went to see her, & finding her tongue very black said, had it not been the black thrush he would have bled her again & then he told the Midwife that if she miscarryd she would certainly dye. In the time of her health She was of a very healthy & cheerful constitution, and was

very well all the time of her being with Child, till the taking this cold.

She told Mr. Chamberlain that she was very hard to Vomitt, & feared it would loosen the Child telling him withall that she was very subject to miscarry having miscarryed twice before, but he incouraged her saying it would prevent her miscarrying. Most of the time that the vomitts did work, She did desire those about her to hold her head and back, saying she was so sore as she could not endure it, and desired him not to give her any more.

Deborah Gotherson.

M^ris^ Anne Wilmer was with Mrs. Wilmer deceased, all the time of her being ill in the City, and the whole time as she was under Mr. Chamberlains care; She averrs the above deposicon also to be what she doth know to be true & hath subscribed thereto.

Ann Wilmer

Witness
Sam^ll^ Wilkinson
Barn^d^ Randolph

This Bill to M^ris^ Wilmer began Nov 19 1687. & endeth in Decemb the 1^st^ in wch short time the sume came to

£	s.	d.
8	11	10

Mr. Chamberlain appeared, desired time to consider of the Accusacon and that he might have a Copy of it. But it was not granted him: for he was present when his Accusers witnessed against him.

Comitia Censoria Maii 4° 1688.

Mrs. Anne Bick appeared the 2^d^ time ag^t^ Mr. Chamberlain to testify y^t^ the Vomit he gave Mrs. Wilmer &c.

Comitia Censoria 11 Maii 1688.

Mr. Chamberlain, having had a Letter, by order of the Censors from the Register containing all the chiefe heads of his Accusations & being desired formerly to give in to this board his indications and method of treating Mrs. Phoebe Wilmer, did this day appeare, and presented them with this paper.

A brief account of Mrs. Wilmore's case with what was ordered for her.

Mrs. Wilmore being about 6 months gone with Child, was taken with violent Cholicks and pleuritick pains, together with shortnesse of breath; a violent Cough &c. a great pain in her heade, with losse of appetite, and vomiting, and a black cinnamon colour turbid urine, the whole accompanyed with a vomitting Fever.

This to the best of my remembrance was her Case but how long she had been ill before I was called, I have forgot, or whether bound or loose tho' I believe the latter, because I began with a vomitt. The main things I perceive expected from me, are my reasons for the Vomitts, purging, Bleeding, and Flux, they call Salivation; I shall therefore take noe notice of any other Circumstance.

First her 4 vomitts were but 2 gentle ones, divided into four equall parts of about 3 drams of infusion of Croc. Metall. Cach.; & my reason for giving them was both to mitigate her pain by removing or abating the Cause, and assisting her inclination to vomitt, w^{ch} according to my expectation was in a great measure answered, and gave some releife with a gentle operation.

The next day or the next but one I ordered the remaining half & the dayes between I guess she might take about half a scruple of Rudij, all w^{ch} workt gently with some benefitt, & that encouraged me 4 dayes after being the 23th (sic) of November, to repeat the Vomitt; which she took in the same manner with like present advantage

When she bled or how often I cannot remember, nor the quantity. But I believe twice if not thrice and about 6 or 7 ounces each time, which was ordered both to give freedome to her breathing and ease to her pain.

As for the Flux of Rheume, I do not only declare, but submitt it to Dr. Johnston's, & Dr. Daws's examination upon their Oaths, if you please, whether there was any Mercury given, or anything else to cause a flux or ulcers, except pectoralls to help expectoration.

But the Candor and Skill of the College will I doubt not as soon conclude, that she had dyed before, if these things had not been administred, and that the Flux, and the Apthæ were y^e^ consequence of the disease and not of Mercury, as is frequently observed by Men of practice and of this I can produce divers Instances; yet if the patient (as Mollier saies) must needs dye by the physitian, let it be divided equally betwixt the D^rs^, who had her so long after, and myselfe. So that the blame may not rest wholy on me.

The reason why I propose Dr. Johnston & Dr. Daws to give an acc^tt^ of this processe, is, because I have formerly communicated some of my abbreviations and methods to them; wch methods Dr. Elliott might have expresst softer then Cant: It being truly for dispatch tho' it had been no Crime in me because of my particular practice, if it had been for Secrecy, having to deal with many incognito patients, and many diseases as fitt to be incognito.

As to that accusation of refusing Consultation with any but friends I had many reasons for it, amongst others, because my practice differs from the usuall way, and often about different cases and also because I have been very ill used by divers Members of the College; but yet in this particular, by my Sons help, I do well remember that not only both Dr. Johnston & Dr. Daws were particularly named but a consent to any other, Nor did I avoid Dr. Charlton himselfe, when proposed to be consulted with,

not having had till now that I know of, any cause to differ with him.

This account being very lame & Mr. Chamberlain's discourse thereupon very unsatisfactory the Censors desired him to withdraw and unanimously agreed upon this Record

A Complaint having been made to the President & Censors by Mr. John Wilmer of Friday Street London against Mr. Hugh Chamberlain of the Parish of St. Clement's Danes Westminster practiser in Midwifry, for Mala praxis coñitted upon the body of Mrs. Phoebe Wilmer deceased late wife of the said John Wilmer in Friday Street aforesaid; on Nov^{r} the 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28 as appeares by his Bill viz. That he the said Hugh Chamberlain knowing the said Phoebe Wilmer to be gone 6 months with Child, for a pain in her right side under her short Ribbs which the said Hugh Chamberlain ignorantly called a pleurisy together with a difficulty of breathing, prescribed to her in the compasse of Nine dayes, four vomitts and four purges, wch accordingly she took and caused her to bleed three times twice in the compasse of one day eight ounces each time and then gave her something to raise a spitting, upon wch there followed swellings and Ulcers in her mouth in three or four days after wch she miscarryed; & that being attended with a loosnesse, she continued languishing till she dyed. And the said Hugh Chamberlain having been thereupon duly suñoned to appeare before the said President and Censors to answer what was objected against him wch he accordingly did, and upon a full hearing and Examinac̃on of the whole matters & of all that was offered and alleged on both sides. It being plainly proved as well by the Testimony of the said John Wilmer as of severall other Witnesses produced by him Viz^{t}. Mrs Ann Wilmer, Mrs Deborah Gotherson, & Ann Bick all wch attended about &

were present with the said Phoebe Wilmer, during the whole or greater part of the time of her Illnesse till her death y^{t} the aforesaid Comp^{lt} was true in every particular of it. And over and above that the said Phoebe Wilmer had acquainted the said Hugh Chamberlain that she was very hard to vomitt and feared it would loosen the Child; telling him withall that she was very subject to miscarry; having miscarryed twice before. But that he encouraged her, saying the Medicine she was to take would prevent her miscarrying And that after her taking the Medicine to make her spitt she the said Phoebe was very full of pain in her tongue; wch swelled very much, and that she did Salivate, sometimes a quart in a day, that wch she did spitt being very black and ropy And that the said Hugh Chamberlaine would have bled her again a fourth time but was not permitted. And that the said John Wilmer proposing to the said Hugh Chamberlain to call in another Physician: He refused it, speaking very largly, in his own commendac̃on and adding that no physician could do the Cures, wch he had done. And the said Hugh Chamberlain having owned the greatest part of the matter aforesaid And that the Vomitts aforesaid were made of Crocus Metallorum; & the Purges aforesaid of Extractum Rudii & offer'd nothing materiall in his owne defence and justification. The said Censors being this day mett, & the said Hugh Chamberlain appearing at the Censor's Bóard; the said Censors having taken the whole matter into their serious consideraco̅n and being fully satisfyed in their Judgment that the said Hugh Chamberlain was guilty of the whole practice laid to his charge as aforesaid & y^{t} his defence was altogether insufficient, and in great measure weak and ignorant And that so many Vomitts, Purgings & Bleedings, in so short a time repeated, as aforesaid; and particularly that the Infusion of Crocus Metallorum, was in the said case of Phoebe Wilmer extreamly dangerous, and the prescription of the extractum Rudij in toto

genere malum. Were clearly of opinion y^t^ the said Hugh Chamberlain was guilty of Mala praxis, in a high degree, and thereupon did adjudge him the said Hugh Chamberlain guilty of the same and for that cause imposed a Fine of Ten pounds of lawfull money of England on the said Hugh Chamberlain, and ordered him the said Hugh Chamberlain for the same cause to be comitted to the Gaol of Newgate there to remain till he should be thence discharged by due course of Law & accordingly signed a Warrant of Coñittment directed to the Keepers of the said Gaol of Newgate

PETER BARWICK
JOHN ELLIOTT
ROBERT PITT
JOHN BATEMAN

Afterwards the Beadle was called in and y^e^ said Warrant for his Coñittment to Newgate sealed by the 4 Censors delivered by the Beadle to a Constable. Whereupon Mr. Chamberlain coming into the Censor roome to know if he were a prisoner to whom the Vice-President answered that he was coñitted till he paid the fyne sett upon him wch was 10 ℔ He presently pulled Gold out of his pocket and would have had the Board receive it. But they refused so to do and told him, He must pay it to the Beadle who would hand it to the Treasurer or might give Bond: wch latter upon second thoughts he made choyce of And accordingly did give a bond of 20 ℔ to pay 10 ℔ to the Treasurer within one month after.

Comitia Censoria 25 Maij 1688.

Mr. Chamberlain sent his Apothecary with a copy of his petiĉon to the L^d^ Chancellor to wch was annexed an Order from his Lo^pp^ to deliver Mr. Chamberlain a Copy of the Information or Affidavit against him. A copy of wch petiĉon is filed up. But the answer the Censors made to his Messenger was that Mr. Chamberlain was present at

that time when the Witnesses against him gave in their testimonye.

That the Register by the Censors order had already given him in a Letter the sume of all the particulars he was accused of.

That in this Court no Affidavits were made against him nor usually are against any one but their proceedings are generally ore tenus according to what they heare from the mouths of credible witnesses before them.

That yet in deference to my L[d] Chancellor he may come to the Register tomorrow morning and see the Records.

Comitiis Extraordinariis 5° Junij 1688

Mr. Chamberlain having made his appeal to the L[d] Chancellor the College hath appointed a Comittee to be assistant to the Censors these 6.

Dr. Charlton	Dr. T. Millington
Dr. Betts	Dr. Goodall
Dr. Brooks	Dr. Johnson.

Comitia Censoria Januarii 18 $168\frac{8}{9}$

Ordered the Bond be put in suit against Dr. Chamberlaine.

Birth of the Pretender.

In the "History of his Own Times" Burnet says, "Chamberlen the Man-midwife who was always ordered to attend her (the Queen) labour before and who brought the plaisters for putting back the milk wondered that he had not been sent to. He went according to custom with the plaisters but he was told they had no occasion for him. He fancied that some other person was put in his place but he could not find that any had it." It is well known that Burnet favoured the idea of the Prince

being a supposititious child, but against this ill-sustained theory the following letter by Hugh Chamberlen, senior, has always been quoted as most important evidence:—

Dr. Hugh Chamberlein to the Princess Sophia—

May it please your Royal Highness. I should not have presumed to interrupt your better-spent houre with my rude and unpolish'd Lines, had I not been encouraged by your gracious commands, sent by the Reverend Hugh Measchen, Minister of the Gospel to the Lutheran Church in the Hagh. He was pleased to give me a short account of a discourse passed in your Royal Highnesses presence; wherein my Name was mentioned upon two different subjects, of which I think it my duty to give your R[l] Highness the best satisfaction I can. The first related to my attendance at the birth of the Pretender to the Crown of Brittain, now firmly settled by Law on your R. Highness. In this, I perceive, the Heer Measchen was instead, confounding my discourse with him, on this matter, together with the conversation he might have had with others, occasion'd by Pamphlets, then here current, pretending an account, how far I had been therein engaged, to which several falsehoods were added. One of those papers was writ by Mr. Burnett, Son to the Bishop of Salsbury. The matter of fact follows—

On Sunday morning; the day of the month and year, occurs not at present to my memory, the Queen sent early a Footman to fetch me to St. James's; but, late the night before, being gone to Chatham to visit a patient, he mist me: A Post was immediately dispatch'd, & I hastened, & found a child newly born loose and undrest, in Lady Powis her lap, and as I was informed, brought forth an hour, before I came. I was not long in the Chamber, when came the late Dr. Hamilton then Lord Arran; more, as to this particular, I cannot offer on my own knowledge;

but shall subjoin a few probable circumstances: for Instance, the Dutchess of Monmouth, having sometime before sent for me, and being in the meantime gone to the Queen's levy left order I should wait her Grace's return; when arived, she was pleased to make this excuse for my waiting, that she had been with her Majesty, saw Her shifted, and her belly very big, which I suppose nothing can so soon reduce as the bearing a child, other tumours, requiring for a compleat abatement, weekes, months, or years. This relation being wholly occasioned by a chance, and mentioned by one, at that time disobliged by the Court, I take to be genuine without Artifice or disguise, so that I never since questioned it. Another circumstance, in this case is, that my being a noted whig, and signally oppressed by King James, they would never have hasarded such a secret, as a supositiitious child, which, had I been at home to have immediatly followed the Summons, I must have come time enough to have discovered, tho the Queen had usually very quick labours. Next Morning meeting the King coming thro the Park to St. James's, he was pleased to tell me that, when he sent I was absent; to which I humbly replied more warning had been necessary: but he told me, they were surprised, for the Queen expected to go a fortnight longer, where upon I answered, that, if His Ma^{ty} had given me three or four Months warning as formerly, I would not have left the Town without Their Majesty's knowledge and leave, the King told me further, that Doct^{r} Brady one of his Physitians and Physick Professor in Cambridge, had informed him that no woman exceeded eight and thirty weeks with child, to which, with a Modest smile, I replied, it might be true, tho' I could not guess how he, I, or any other could know it to be so, without having been Guardian to a Seraglio. I Confess I was not a little piqued, that, besides former slights, neither the King nor Queen themselves, had spoke to me to attend: indeed Lady Sophia Buckly told

me in Her Ma^{tys} presence, some weeks before, that shortly there would be occasion for me, but I did not take that for a sufficient Orders. At another time Lady Jefferies asking, whether I had Commands to attend Her Ma^{ty} I briskly answered, I thought I should, unless the brains were in disorder.

A third material circumstance may be admitted, that during my attendance on the Child, by His Ma$^{ty's}$ directions, I had frequent discourse with the necessary woman, who, being in mighty dread of Popery, and Confiding in my reputed whiggisme, would often complaine of the busie pragmaticalness of the Jesuits, who placed and displaced whome they pleas'd, and for her part, she also expected a speedy remove, for the Jesuits would endure none, but their own party: such was our common entertainment: but, about a fortnight, after the child was born, a rumour being spread thro the City, that the Child was Suposititious, she cried, Alas! will they not let the poor infant alone? I am certain no Such thing as the bringing a strange child in a warming pan Could be practised without my seeing it; attending constantly in and about all the avenues of the Chamber.*

On Sunday, the 17th April, 1692, Hugh Chamberlen, senior, attended another Royal personage—"Dr. Chamberlain had the honour to lay the Princesse (Anne of Denmark) of a Son which immediately dyed. He had a hundred guineas for his pains." This Prince was born at Sion House near Brentford.

When the ex-King was at St. Germains he sent to London for Dr. Chamberlen to assist at his Queen's delivery, but a pass was denied the doctor.† Mary Louisa, the expected child, was born in 1692.

* Sloan MS. 4107, p. 150, and Appendix to Dalrymple's "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 311.

† Sandford's "Genealogical Hist." vol. ii. p. 425.

In 1694 Hugh Chamberlen, senior, published a second medical work with the following title :—

"A few Queries relating to the Practice of Physick with remarks upon some of them, modestly proposed to the serious consideration of Mankind, in order to their information how their lives and healths (which are so necessary and therefore ought to be dear to them) may be better preserved. By H. Chamberlen* Physician in Ordinary to the late King Charles II. London 1694."

This book contains little more than a repetition of the arguments set forth in his "Manuale Medicum" for the use of evacuants and more especially vomits; and he doubtless had the action of the College against him in his mind when he penned the 65th query—"Whether women with child and in child-bed may not safely, when the disease requires, both vomit, bleed and purge provided it be with due caution."

A New Establishment of Physic.

At the end of his "Few Queries" he also published "A proposal for the better securing of health, intended in the year 1689 and still ready to be humbly offered to the Consideration of the Honourable Houses of Parliament.

"This last years Bill of Mortality, as well as the many poor diseased, have given to some a just occasion of Reflecting on the great numbers which annually dye within the City of London, and parts adjacent, Comprized in the weekly Bills of Mortality; whereof very many, by God's Blessing, upon the true Methods of a Skilful, Careful, and Early Application of the Art of Physick, might in all probability have been preserved alive.

"Therefore, in order to so good and great an end, it is humbly proposed, that a more compleat practical Consti-

* In the title to this book the name is spelt in the usual way, and the titles of M.D. and F.R.S. are not assumed.

tution of Physick according to the following method, may be upon rational Demonstration established; whereby care may be taken, that all sick, as well poor as rich, shall be advised and visited, when needful, by approved, skilful, Phisicians, and Surgeons; and furnished with necessary Medicines in all Diseases, except the Pox, Midwifry, and cutting for the Stone; for which three last Calamities, some small additional allowance may be settled; Because the Pox may not be hereby encouraged, and deliveries require mighty pains, and unseasonable hours; and the Stone is not only a particular Dexterity, but requires much attendance.

"And all this, (Except as before Excepted) for a small yearly certain Sum assessed upon each house, not exceeding . . . . for the greatest Family, nor under . . . . for the meanest, that are not objects of charity! Which respective sums will not be the third part of what is now spent, only in Apothecaries Bills in a healthy year. And for this every individual Person of the Family, as well as the Lodger and Servant; as Master, Mistress and Children shall, when there is occasion, be sufficiently accommodated: Whereas many at present miserably perish, without the least care, and for want of timely and skilful Assistance. In short, It's proposed to serve all the Families, Rich and Poor, Little and Great, within the City and parts adjacent, much better and cheaper than at present, with Visits, Advice, Medicine, and Surgery.

"It is also further humbly offered, That effectual care be taken to reform the practice of Midwifry, according to a proposal already to be presented when commanded: And that the laws already in being may be revised and ammended, which provide against the Sale of unwholsome Flesh in the Markets; and that bread may be well baked; Wine not sophisticated; beer well brewed; and the houses and streets well cleansed from dirt and filth: All these being very Common Causes of diseases and death."

This "New establishment of Physick" was to be carried out by "ten noble curators, one hundred and fourty-six Physitians, one hundred and twenty one Chirugeons and one hundred and forty nine Apothecaries under the Control of the Staffs of seven Colleges situated in Convenient places."

It does not appear that this proposal was ever considered by Parliament.

Proposal for a Land Bank.

Although Hugh Chamberlen, senior, states that the project for a Land Bank was one to which he had given great attention for many years, the first publication of his proposal was not made until 1690, under the following title :—

Dr. Hugh Chamberlen's Proposal to make England Rich and Happy.

That if the Parliament will settle the Rates, which by Act of Parliament are established for ever, for Poor and High-ways, under certain Regulations, according to a Scheme ready to be offered, at a Million clear per annum (whereas the present Charge is supposed to be much more), but for one hundred Years, as a secure Fund, after the Nature of Banks ; And enable the Undertaker to provide Tickets of Credit or Bills of Exchange thereupon, not exceeding the Value of the said Fund, Which Bills will in no respect be inferiour to Mony, and are to be controuled by Commissioners, appointed by and accomptable to Parliament from Time to Time.

He offers, out of the said Fund (which hitherto hath in no wise answered the Worthy Ends designed by Parliament), not only to provide for ever much better for all the Poor that are in the Nation, or that may for the future become so ; And effectually to repair the High-ways, and

so continue them for ever, by appropriating twenty Millions of the said Tickets to purchase a Million per annum Inheritance to that End;

But also greatly to Enrich this Nation by Increase of Trade;

To reimburse them the Taxes paid since their Majesties Reign;

To encourage the Soldiers and Seamen with a Donative of six Months Pay;

To advance what the Parliament shall please to appoint for carrying on the next Year's War, not exceeding the Sum of . . . . Millions;

And to pay the London Orphans their full Debts;

Besides many other Publick Works of Necessity and Ornament:

And the supporting the great Charge, which unavoidably must attend this Undertaking, wherein will be above three hundred new Employments fit for Noblemen and Gentlemen.

That this Proposal is of Great Use and very Profitable, none can deny, It promising universal Good, without Hurt to any. And, that 'tis both Possible and Easie, the Proposer offers Plainly to Demonstrate with Rational Arguments, whenever the House of Commons shall be pleased to appoint a Committee to hear the same; And also to give Satisfactory Answers to whatsoever Objection shall be made against it by any, that will own their Objections in Print with their Name subscribed. This Proposal is published, because 'tis of so great Concern, at this Time, to the whole Nation; and hath nothing of Faction in it; but it is equally beneficial to all Perswasions. And therefore 'tis hoped, that such, who make use of their own Sense and Reason, if they approve of this Proposal, will, for the Nation's sake, not only propagate their Good Opinion of it amongst their Neighbours, but also strengthen the Hands of the Proposer, by acquainting him with such their Appro-

bation; that, if possible, it may prevail for the saving this Nation from the great and imminent Evils that otherwise threaten it.

From his House in Essex-street,
near Temple-Bar, London.
November 1690.

Hugh Chamberlen's project passed through many phases, and this, his earliest proposal, was frequently modified, until, in its latest development, it assumed the following form, which he submitted to the acceptance of the Parliament of Scotland :—

"That a Statute or Law of this Kingdom may be Enacted, for nominating certain Trustees or Commissioners, to be appointed now, and from time to time, by Parliament, & accountable thereunto: which Trustees are to have power to receive and examine the titles and Estates of all such as are willing to engage their Lands for the forming such a secure current Credit. Upon finding any such estate clear in title, the said Trustees to take a conveyance thereof for 150 Years, upon Condition to be void, when 100 Years payment shall have been made to them of the rent agreed; & such rent to be payd, not in Money or Gold, but only in the bills of Credit issued to the Grantor by the said Trustees, And the Heritor or Grantor to enjoy the free & undisturbed possession of such Estate for the whole Term; he duely paying such Annual rent. Upon the making over any such Estate, the Trustees thereupon direct their Warrant to the Master of a proper Office, therefore to be erected, to Issue 100 years value of such Estate in bills of Credit of severall values, the better to accommodate the uses of Trade: Which bills of Credit are thus to be divided, *Viz:* 40 Years Value to the Proprietor; 30 Years value for his use, but to be employed in such publick Trade or Trades, as the several Proprietors shall in a body agree upon: 10 Years purchase to the Government in ease

of the People in point of Taxes, and may be appropriated to such uses where the honour of the Crown, & Interest of the Nation, may equallie meet; And the residue to the use of the said Doctor *Chamberlen*, as Master of such Office; who and his Heirs to be perpetually so, in reward of this service done the Nation. And the Master of the Office, is out of such his part, to pay all the charge of the Office, which will be very great; and to answer all contingencies of it. And also generous and becoming appointments to those Honourable Gentlemen to be made Trustees by the Parliament, to see justice done to the people, and the honour, and security of the bank preserved inviolable. The Heritors, or Proprietors that raise this Fund, are to be a Corporation, with perpetual Succession, and all necessary powers, for mannaging and carrieing on such National Trade, or Trades, as they shall agree upon. From 120 to 150 Pound *Sterling*, *Per annum*, is to be made over for the payment of every 100 *Per annum*, to be engaged for this Fund, and so in proportion; And this to the end, that all credit thus to be issued, may be supported by a greater value than it self."

Some idea of the interest which Hugh Chamberlen, senior, took in his Land Bank project, and the time and labour he devoted to it, may be gathered from the following bibliography of the subject, which is probably far from complete :—

"Dr. Chamberlen's Proposal for a Land fund of Credit —Compared with the Tunnage Bank lately established by Parliament."

"Pamphlet." 4to, 4 pp. In possession of the Author.

"The Tunnage Bank Compared with Doctor Chamberlen's Land Fund of Credit. 1692."

"Pamphlet." 4to, Sheet. In possession of the Author.

"The Proposal for the Fishery-Stock. Formerly presented to the Members of Parliament. 1692."

"Pamphlet." 4to, Sheet. In possession of the Author.

"Dr. C.'s Petition and Proposal for a Land Bank to increase Trade Humbly offered to the House of Commons, Dec. 1693, and by them referred to a Committee with some remarks on the Practicableness and Usefulness thereof."

"The printed Proposal for the Fishery Stock, formerly presented to the Members of Parliament may be thus accommodated to the Petition. London, 1693." Folio. British Museum.

"Papers relating to a Bank of Credit upon Land Security proposed to the Parliament of Scotland by Dr. Hugh Chamberlen. 1693." British Museum.

"Several particulars of the highest concern to the Kingdom of Scotland, By a friend to the Proposal made by Dr. H. Chamberlen anno 1693 for establishing a Land-Credit in Scotland."

"Pamphlet." Fol. 4 pp. In possession of the Author.

"Proposal by Dr. Hugh Chamberlen, and James Armour for a Land-Credit; Presented to the Parliament by the Committee, to whom it was referred to be Considered, and Ordered by the Parliament to be Printed."

"Pamphlet." Fol. 4 pp. In possession of the Author.

"Some few Considerations supposed useful Concerning the Vote of the House of Commons, Friday 24th February, upon the Bill for hindering the exportation of Gold and Silver and the melting down of the Coin of this realm, humbly proposed by Dr. Hugh Chamberlain to the Wisdom of the Honourable House of Commons. London. 1693." Folio. British Museum.

"A short Abstract of Dr. Chamberlen's proposals and of Mr. Briscoe's present printed proposal compared together." Folio sh. n.d. Guildhall Library.

"An answer to ditto." 4to n.d. Guildhall Library.

"A Rod for the Fool's back, or Dr. Chamberlin and his Proposal vindicated from the foul aspersions of a dirty, scurrilous scribbler, who pretends to answer the Paper of

the Comparison between the Doctor's proposal and Mr. Briscoe's. London. 1694." 4to, 14 pp. British Museum.

"A reply to a Pamphlet called Observations on the Bank of England by H. C. London, 1694." 4to. Guildhall Library.

"Some useful reflections upon a pamphlet Called a brief account of the intended Bank of England whereunto is annexed a short description of Doctor Chamberlen's Bank. 1694." British Museum.

"An account of the Land Bank shewing the Design and Manner of the Settlement, the Profits to the Subscribers, the Advantage to the Borrowers, the Conveniency to the Lenders, that it will be the support of the Nobility and Gentry of England, and a Publick Good to the Whole Nation. 1695." Folio. British Museum.

"A proposal for erecting a General Bank. 1695." Folio. British Museum.

"A safe and easy method for supplying the want of Coin, and raising as many millions as the Occasions of the Publick may require. Humbly offered to the Consideration of the Present Parliament—With remarks upon the Bank of England, Dr. Chamberlain's Bank, the Land Bank, so called, and the National Land Bank. 1695." 4to. British Museum.

"A New Fund raised on the foundation of Dr. Chamberlen's Bank." Fol. Sheets, n. d. Guildhall Library.

"A proposal by Dr. Hugh Chamberlain in Essex Street for a bank of Secure current credit to be founded upon land. In order to the general good of landed men. To the great increase of the value of land, and the no less benefit and augmentation of trade and commerce. 1695." British Museum.

"The several articles or parts of the Proposal upon Land Credit rationally explained. 1695." Fol. 4 pp. British Museum.

"The settlement of the Land-Bank established A.D. 1695.

with an abstract thereof annexed." 1695. Fol. 16 pp. Guildhall Library.

"A brief Narrative of the Nature and advantages of the Land-bank as proposed by Dr. Hugh Chamberlen, the first Author of founding a Bank on an Annual Revenue. 1695." Fol. sh. In possession of the Author.

"A Bank Dialogue or Dr. Chamberlen's Land Bank explained by way of Question and Answer. By a friend to so good an undertaking. 1695." Fol. sh. 4pp. British Museum.

"A proposal for encouraging of persons to subscribe towards a common stock of ——— for the erecting and managing of a trade by a general Fishery, to be with all possible moral security, of great gain to the adventurers, of no less honour and advantage to the publick, and is a benefit not to be attained by any other methods, as is strongly presumed from arguments that have all the appearing force of demonstration, by Mr. Dalby Thomas and Dr. Hugh Chamberlain. 1695. London." Folio. King's Pamphlets. British Museum.

"A supplement to the Proposal for a general Fishery, explaining the nature and benefit of the fund proposed for the same." King's Pamphlets. British Museum.

"A Proposal for the Fishery Stock and Bank. London, 1696." Folio. Guildhall Library.

"Positions supported by their reasons, explaining the Office of Land-Credit. 1696." Fol. 7 pp. British Museum.

"To His Grace William Duke of Hamilton their Majesties High Commissioner and the Honourable Estates of Parliament, the following Considerations and Proposals are humbly presented by Dr. Hugh Chamberlen." Fol. 4 pp. In possession of the Author.

"The Constitution of the Office of Land-Credit declared in a Deed by Hugh Chamberlen Senior, M.D. and others, joynt Undertakers and Managers thereof; Inrolled in Chancery. Anno Dom. 1696." Fol. 1. 7 pp. British Museum.

"Mr. J. Briscoe. A Director in the National Land Bank, his Defence of Dr. Hugh Chamberlen's Bank or Office of Land Credit. In a Letter to the Doctor, written 1693. 1696." British Museum.

"Some Remarks upon a late nameless and scurrilous Libel entituled A Bank Dialogue between Dr. H. C. and a Country Gentleman. In a Letter to a Person of Quality. 1696." Fol. 4 pp. In possession of the Author.

"An Answer to a libel entituled, A Dialogue, &c. &c.— and many other pamphlets and sheets relating to the scheme. 1696." Guildhall Library.

"The Office of Land Credit &c. 1696." Folio. British Museum.

"An Essay upon the necessity of raising the value of twenty millions of pounds at least, in either bills, bonds, tickets or tallies of credit according to Dr. C.'s method in order to enable the King to carry on the war with France, and to pay off all anticipations, to promote trade, ease the Nation of Taxes, Discharge Mortgages, Encourage a General Fishery, Employ the Poor, Relieve Prisoners, Lower Interest and make good the loss by Clipt Money. London, 1696." 4to, 20 pp. British Museum.

"To the Honourable the House of Commons, A Proposal for making good the light and clipt money, humbly tendered by Dr. Hugh Chamberlen." King's Pamphlets. British Museum.

"Some Considerations upon the necessity of calling in the Clipt and Counterfeit Money—written some time since." King's Pamphlets. British Museum.

"A Method to prevent the exportation of bullion." King's Pamphlets. British Museum.

"Abstract and Brief Illustration . . . . . of the Office of Land Credit. 1697." Fol. sh. In possession of the Author.

"A few Proposals Humbly recommending to the serious consideration of His Majesty's High Commissioner, and the Right Honourable, the Estates of Parliament, the

Establishing a Land-Credit in this Kingdom. With several Explanations of, and Arguments for, the same; together with full Answers to all such Objections, as have hitherto appeared against it. By Hugh Chamberlen, Formerly Physitian in ordinary to King Charles II. Edinburgh 1700." 4to, 50 pp. British Museum.

"The Proposal of Dr. Hugh Chamberlen to the Commons for raising a tax for discharge of the arrears of the Navy and Army." Fol. sh. Guildhall Library.

For ten years Hugh Chamberlen was completely absorbed by his great Land Bank project, the advantages of which he urged by pen and tongue with a persistency and ability worthy of a better cause. He invited persons to call upon him three evenings in the week to explain to them his scheme and answer objections. To members of Parliament he was especially attentive, and endeavoured by every art of persuasion to induce them to support the Land Bank. The following are two MS. letters from him to members of Parliament upon the subject:—

S^{r}

This morning S^{r} Robert Dames intends to move the House upon my petic̃on for a Bank of Credit whereby the desireable Fishery may be restored to this nation. All I beg is that you'l give your vote at least for hearing it and admitting of our answers to such objections as may be raised which I hope is so just a request as every Commoner may expect from their representatives in Parliam^{t}. But besides the common good, landed men and particularly the Members of both Houses may if they please honourably reap the following advantage that is 4000 li downe and 2000 li in their stock of trade for only 2000 li worth of land. And if the act makes a limitation every member that shall please to transferr his right of subscription shall receive for the same in six months after the act passeth a valueable consideration.

The Common good will be easing the people under their Taxes providing moneys in the roome of some Taxes, increasing Trade, raising the purchase of land in 7 years to at least 25 yeares and raising rents in 10 yeares to the half as much more, that is 100 li pr. ann. to 150 li p. ann. These certaine advantages plainly to be demonstrated may well invite reasonable men at least good patriotts to listen to so great a good.

I am

S^r^

Your obedient Serv^t^

HUGH CHAMBERLEN.

7 Dec.
93.

You may please to communicate the contents to other members of your acquaintance.*

S^r^

I do not presume to give you now this trouble to desire your grace and favour as a Member of Parliament but to offer you as a Country Gentleman my Service in the improvement of your Estate in Lands to a greater degree than any other way possible. I have therfore sent you herewith my printed proposal, to which I have already many Subscribers, and hope within few week to have the summe compleat, and to set it on foot, and When the Parliament shall see the benefitt from the practice tis not to be doubted but they'l vouchsafe to encourage it according to its merit. If you find not full satisfaction in the papers, please to send your doubts in a Letter and full answer shall be returned. If you meet with no objection. I suppose for your own sake you'l give me Order to subscribe such annual Rent, as you are willing to engage, especially since you can loose nothing if it should

* MS. letter in volume of Pamphlets relating to the Land Bank in the Guildhall Library.

not succeed, and must gain greatly if it do, and you are also sure of many worthy persons, who have already & dayly are Subscribing, for your Companions. S^r^ This undertakeing hath been already approved by two Committes of Parliament. I only request your speedy answer whether you'l please to be concerned or no, beleeving I should have been wanting in my respects had I proceeded without giveing you this notice who am

S^r^

Your very humble Servant

HUGH CHAMBERLEN

20th 95

I have sent you 2 Proposals more not so perfect, as the first which you may please to keep by You.*

Hugh Chamberlen, senior, during the many years which he devoted to the establishment of his Bank, must have lived in almost a perpetual state of excitement, for public feeling ran very high on the subject, and he had constantly to answer the scurrilous attacks of rivals and enemies. These disputes did not always end in the harmless bandying of words, as may be seen by the following quotation from Sandford :—

"1698. Thursday 24. Feb. Tuesday last Mr. Slingsby who belonged to Dr. Chamberlain's Land Bank killed one Captain Watts at the Horn and Horse-Shoe tavern in Chancery Lane."†

The Land Bank scheme of Hugh Chamberlen is thus criticised and commented upon by Lord Macaulay :—

"Pre-eminently conspicuous among the political mountebanks, whose busy faces were seen every day in the lobby of the House of Commons, were John Briscoe and Hugh Chamberlayne, two projectors worthy to have been mem-

* Tanner MS. No. 24, fol. 112. Bodleian Library.

† "Genealogical History," vol. iv. p. 348.

bers of that Academy which Gulliver found at Lagado. These men affirmed that the one cure for every distemper of the State was a Land Bank. A Land Bank would work for England miracles such as had never been wrought for Israel, miracles exceeding the heaps of quails and the daily shower of manna. There would be no taxes, and yet the exchequer would be full to overflowing. There would be no poor rates: for there would be no poor. The income of every landowner would be doubled. The profits of every merchant would be increased. In short, the island would, to use Briscoe's own words, be the paradise of the world. The only losers would be the moneyed men, those worst enemies of the nation, who had done more injury to the gentry and yeomanry than an invading army from France would have had the heart to do.

"These blessed effects the Land Bank was to produce simply by issuing enormous quantities of notes on landed security. The doctrine of the projectors was that every person who had real property ought to have, besides that property, paper money to the full value of that property. Thus, if his estate was worth two thousand pounds, he ought to have his estate and two thousand pounds in paper money. Both Briscoe and Chamberlayne treated with the greatest contempt the notion that there could be an over issue of paper as long as there was, for every ten pound note, a piece of land in the country worth ten pounds. Nobody, they said, would accuse a goldsmith of over-issuing as long as his vaults contained guineas and crowns to the full value of all the notes which bore his signature. Indeed, no goldsmith had in his vaults guineas and crowns to the full value of all his paper. And was not a square mile of rich land in Taunton Dean at least as well entitled to be called wealth as a bag of gold or silver? The projectors could not deny that many people had a prejudice in favour of the precious metals, and that, therefore, if the Land Bank were bound to cash

its notes, it would very soon stop payment. This difficulty they got over by proposing that the notes should be inconvertible, and that everybody should be forced to take them.

"The speculations of Chamberlayne on the subject of the currency may possibly find admirers even in our own time. But to his other errors he added an error which began and ended with him. He was fool enough to take it for granted, in all his reasonings, that the value of an estate varied directly as the duration. He maintained that if the annual income derived from a manor were a thousand pounds, a grant of that manor for twenty years must be worth twenty thousand pounds. If, therefore, the lord of such a manor would pledge it for a hundred years to the Land Bank, the Land Bank might, on that security, instantly issue notes for a hundred thousand pounds. On this subject Chamberlayne was proof to ridicule, to argument, even to arithmetical demonstration. He was reminded that the fee simple of land would not sell for more than twenty years' purchase. To say, therefore, that a term of a hundred years was worth five times much as a term of twenty years, was to say that a term of a hundred years was worth five times the fee simple; in other words, that a hundred was five times infinity. Those who reasoned thus were refuted by being told they were usurers; and it should seem that a large number of country gentlemen thought the refutation complete.

"In December, 1693, Chamberlayne laid his plan, in all its naked absurdity, before the Commons, and petitioned to be heard. He confidently undertook to raise eight thousand pounds on every freehold estate of a hundred and fifty pounds a year, which should be brought, as he expressed it, into his Land Bank, and this without dispossessing the freeholder. All the squires in the House must have known that the fee simple of such an estate

would hardly fetch three thousand pounds in the market. That less than the fee simple of such an estate could, by any device, be made to produce eight thousand pounds, would, it might have been thought, have seemed incredible to the most illiterate fox-hunter that could be found on the benches. Distress, however, and animosity had made the landed gentlemen credulous. They insisted on referring Chamberlayne's plan to a committee; and the committee reported that the plan was practicable, and would tend to the benefit of the nation. But by this time the united force of demonstration and derision had begun to produce an effect even on the most ignorant rustics in the House. The report lay unnoticed on the table; and the country was saved from a calamity compared with which the defeat of Landen and the loss of the Smyrna fleet would have been blessings."

"The project of a Land Bank had been revived; not in the form in which it had, two years before, been brought under the consideration of the House of Commons, but in a form much less shocking to common sense and less open to ridicule. Chamberlayne, indeed, protested loudly against all modifications of his plan, and proclaimed, with undiminished confidence, that he would make all his countrymen rich if they would only let him. He was not, he said, the first great discoverer whom princes and statesmen had regarded as a dreamer. Henry the Seventh had, in an evil hour, refused to listen to Christopher Columbus: the consequence had been that England had lost the mines of Mexico and Peru; yet what were the mines of Mexico and Peru to the riches of a nation blessed with an unlimited paper currency?

"But the united force of reason and ridicule had reduced the once numerous sect which followed Chamberlayne to a small and select company of incorrigible fools. Few even of the squires now believed in his two great doctrines; the doctrine that the State can, by merely calling a bundle

of old rags ten millions sterling, add ten millions sterling to the riches of the nation; and the doctrine that a lease of land for a term of years may be worth many times the fee simple. But it was still the general opinion of the country gentlemen that a bank, of which it should be the special business to advance money on the security of land, might be a great blessing to the nation. Harley and the speaker Foley now proposed that such a bank should be established by Act of Parliament, and promised that, if their plan were adopted, the King should be amply supplied with money for the next campaign.

"The Whig leaders saw that the scheme was a delusion and must speedily fail, but they had against them, not only the whole Tory party, but also their master, and many of their followers. The necessities of the State were pressing. The offers of the projectors were tempting. The Bank of England had, in return for its charter, advanced to the State only one million at eight per cent. The Land Bank would advance more than two millions and a half at seven per cent.

"It was vain to reason against the general infatuation. The Bill passed both Houses. On the 27th of April it received the Royal assent; and the Parliament was immediately afterwards prorogued."*

Francis also, in his "History of the Bank of England," makes the following comments upon Chamberlen's Bank:—

"A bank was proposed by Dr. Hugh Chamberlain to advance money on the security of landed property; and though the Bank of England had no occasion to fear rivalry, they petitioned against it, and were heard by their Counsel. A pamphleteer of the day says, 'Estates to a very great value were subscribed in a short space, a deed settled, a Company formed, and all things disposed to put this wonderful project into execution.' All that the

* Macaulay's "History of England," vol. iv.

projectors required was money; and as that was not ready at the appointed period, 'the romantic Land Bank failed.'"*

This collapse of the long-cherished Land Bank project was not favourably regarded nor mercifully treated by contemporary writers; in fact, if we are to accept their testimony as true, Hugh Chamberlen, senior, did not leave the business with clean hands nor the country with honour.

"1699 Tuesday 21 Mar. Dr. Chamberlain, the man-midwife, and sole contriver and manager of the Land-bank, is retired to Holland, on suspition of debt." †

Thus writes Sandford, but the following Poetical Broadside by an anonymous author gives a far more damaging account of the doings of the "famous projector":—

Hue and cry after a Man-Midwife, Who has lately delivered the Land-Bank of their money.

If in any good person in Country or Town,
Either Courtier, or Citizen, Sharper, or Clown,
Gives Tidings or Tale of a famous Projector,
Whom great-bellied Ladies have mighty respect for,
Shall at the Land-Bank be as nobly rewarded,
As by the Trustees it can well be afforded.
He's a little old Man, Very pale of Complexion,
Into many deep things makes a narrow inspection,
His Head's very long, and his Hands very small,
Fit to fathom a gentle Tuquoque withal:
In tormenting of which, as the good women tell us,
He strangles more necks than the Rope or the Gallows,
Among his profession he's famed as a Topper,
By some called a Midwife, by others a Groper.
From his Office in Queen St. he lately has started,
And left his Society half broken-hearted,

* Vol. i. p. 67.

† "Genealogical History," vol. iv. p. 496.

Thus show'd them a trick one would think was
beneath him
And run with their Stock, marry Devil go with him!
But yet he was so civil unto the Trustees,
Tho' he's taken the chest, he has left 'em the Keys,
Of Iron 'twas made, and secured with Chains,
Being Lock'd with abundance of Cunning and Pains;
Which mingles their Sorrow with some little Pleasure,
To think how 'twill plague him to come at the treasure,
By common Report into Holland he's fled;
If so, the land Bank is brought finely to Bed:
For if to the old place of Refuge he's run,
Adzooks you're all Cozened as sure as a Gun.
And you that are chous'd for your money may mourn,
For Holland, like Hell, never makes a Return,
'Tis known to all Europe, the Dutch, like the Devil,
Takes damnable care of the Root of all Evil.
What Money is once carried into their Nation,
Is more hard to regain than if sunk in the Ocean.
If the Coin was inclosed (like the soil in a Gizzard)
In an Adamant Coffer, lock'd up by a Wizard,
They'll shew him a way, by some Power Infernal,
To break up the Shell and to take out the Kernel.
A Bank to give Paper and hoard up our Coin,
Was nothing at first but a Cozening Design
And he, like a man of wise Circumspection,
Has show'd the True end of a Roguish Projection.
Considering how oft the Nation is bit
By Projects and yet will not see through the Cheat
'Tis a wonder to me we should learn no more Wit.
We've Lott'ries from Venice and Banks from the Dutch
Tho' Holland indeed has occasion for such;
For if they were down as abundance do with,
They must die all like Puppies, or live all like Fish,
My Brains are so heavy I vow and protest,
I must beg you'll accept of that Pun for a jest.

For talking of Holland so much, I'm a Dog,
If my fancy at last is not slip'd in a Bog.
But now to the Matter. If any discover
The Man and the Money, and bring 'em both over,
He shall find the Trustees of the Bank to be Noble,
And give him whate'er he can get for his Trouble.
To give you his Character truly Compleat,
He's Doctor, Projector, Man-Midwife and C[heat]
Who has cunningly managed a subtle Device
Beyond the poor Parson or Auberry Price.
And all that I farther can say of the matter,
He's gone to the Dutch, and the Devil go a'ter.*

From this time all trace of Hugh Chamberlen, senior, in this country is lost.

Proposal for the Union of England and Scotland.

There seems to be some doubt whether Hugh Chamberlen, senior, as was commonly reported, went immediately to Holland upon the failure of his scheme in this country, for in 1700 he was urging his Land Bank project upon the Parliament of Scotland, and in 1702 he began to promulgate a plan for the union of England and Scotland, and published a volume on the subject under the following title :—"The Great Advantages to Both Kingdoms of Scotland and England, by an Union.—By a Friend to Britain.—Printed in the year 1702."

It is probable, therefore, that before finally quitting these shores, he lived for a time in Scotland. The *précis* of his book here given, shows such an intimate and complete acquaintance with his subject, as could scarcely have been obtained by a person living out of the country about which he was writing.

* Printed in the year 1699. London. British Museum.

The Great Advantages to Both Kingdoms of Scotland and England by an Union.

Précis of the Book.

Main design of Tyrants, Princes and States to unite Families and Nations under one large Government.

(1) For their private luxury and glory; or

(2) For the public benefit and security of themselves and subjects.

Of (1) we have the Assyrian, Persian, Grecian, Roman, and Ottoman monarchies; and Spain and France.

Of (2), the Roman Commonwealth and other Republics.

The advantages succeeding the reduction of divers Nations into one great people—Unions are rendered complete, permanent, and happy; subduing enemies to liberty; making them free citizens, with one interest for their mutual prosperity and defence.

Benefits appear from (1) the Conjunction of the Heptarchy and Wales. (2) That of the princes of Germany; and (3) Of the United Provinces.

Perpetual Union recommended for England and Scotland—the better to defend themselves against the late coalescence of France and Spain. Britain would make a much greater figure in Europe by conjunction of both kingdoms, and might be yet more considerable by associating also Ireland and the American Plantations into one and the same body under the same liberties and legislative as well as executive power. Such an Union conquers without loss or hazard of blood or treasure and endures longer than where both have been expended in the acquisition. Since then Society is more agreeable to mankind than Solitude, the greater the Society, the stronger the security, and of longer duration, and the more the convenience.

To be United will make England more secure, and

will not render Scotland less. It heightens the felicity of both, and injures neither more.

The mutual acquisition of so great a number of free men valuable. E.g. the West Indian Colonies value negroes at 100*l.* per head.

The Union of England and Scotland under one Prince put an end to the feuds and quarrels between the two Nations. Authorities for this view mentioned :—*The Postman Newspaper*, 28 Dec. 1800; Sir Thos. Craig in his tract *De Unione Regnorum*, the author of *The Duke of Anjou's Succession Considered; Lord Verulam;* Pitmedden; and *Miscellanea Aulica.*

The author then speaks of the successful endeavour of France and Spain to prevent a union between the two kingdoms.

The two kingdoms are already one in situation upon the same island, both a free people by their laws, of one language, religion and (with respect to the rest of the world,) of the same interest: It were therefore Pity smaller trifles should continue them still divided.

As to objections to the Union. It has been suggested that England, being most strong, opulent, and full of trade hath little reason to unite with a country inferior in all those respects.

Answer to this :—England hath therefore the greater reason, that so they yet may be more able to defend and protect the wealth and trade they have. By the present laws if all Scotland will transplant and settle on the English side of Tweed, they will immediately be entitled to all the privileges of trade, protection and law the English enjoy. Would it not be better to have by Union that their lands, goods, harbours, seas, fishery, &c., joined also to England, than by such a migration only their persons? Their conveniences and subjects of trade, as shipping, rivers, wool, &c., will soon tempt English merchants to share in those profits and so make Scotland no less bene-

ficial to England than England will be to Scotland. And whatever part of the English trade the Scots after the Union may partake of, will still be brought into the common stock of Britain. Whereas, if now left free, it may fall into the hands of an enemy, as the interest of Scotland may sometimes take them.

It is alleged that Scotland being the weaker and the poorer must consequently be oppressed by the stronger and more prosperous. The nature of the proposed Union totally prevents any such practice. Is any part of England more burdened by design than the rest? Are not the laws there equally executed in all parts? What injuries does one part of that kingdom suffer which the whole in Parliament does not endeavour to redress? The same and no other after the Union can be expected for Scotland. Therefore this objection has but small force.

2nd Objection. That the laborious people will quit their country to live in England. This is improbable. For if they will now go for England, they'll enjoy as much liberty as they can expect after a Union, and yet, though some go, there are many more stay behind or than are employed.

3rd Objection. That the pleasures, delights, and conveniences of England which Scotland wants, and the necessary and frequent Attendance at Court and Parliament will often draw most of the nobility and gentry thither, which must carry away much money out of their country. Answer to this objection. They cannot well suffer more than they complain they do at present by the constant recourse thither of their nobility and gentry. But if they could consent to a reasonable limitation of the numbers of their Members of Parliament, they will not find that a very great grievance, especially if during the Session they despatch all other affairs they may have at Court to save them more journeys. If Scotland, by the help of the Union and English example will encourage an improve-

ment as far as 'tis capable, it may become as convenient and pleasant to be inhabited as England, which will not only keep their nobility and gentry from wasting their estates abroad, but draw back all such of their countrymen as have enriched themselves in England or elsewhere, to settle with their stocks in their own country and because of the register, to lay out their money securely in the purchase of land estates.

4th Objection. That upon the Union the English will pour in their commodities in such plenty as will sink the Scotch manufactures and drive their artisans out of their country. This will no more follow than that the clothing of the west of England ruins that of the north and the stuffs of Exeter destroy those of Canterbury and Norwich; besides if they will either make as good or cheap, as they may very well do, if they'll take pains, there is no fear but their goods will find a market at home or abroad which will be equivalent and if they will not (I will not say cannot, because 'tis not true) 'tis not fit they should hope for employment but rather want unpitied.

5th Objection. By the absence of their nobility and gentry and of the commonality, as is suspected, will happen after the Union; their land-rents will fall in value. If so, then victuals and wages must sink proportionally, whereby small rents may maintain as plentifully as great rents now do; and it may oblige the Heritors to dwell at home, which, when Scotland shall be better improved, may not be unacceptable.

Objections answered by matter of fact. The remoteness from Court hinders neither Bristol, Newcastle, Whitehaven, nor other cities or towns in England from thriving; Nor does the neatness of Southampton, Rye, or other decayed towns make them prosper better. Nor does all the Nobility and gentry of England quit their country seats to spend their revenues in London nor do they always dance there after preferment. Nor are the rents fallen in Wales; nor

their gentry fewer or poorer since their conjunction with England than before, when they had Princes of their own. But much the contrary.

As to religion. If the generality in Scotland approves of the present establishment, there can be no fear, since liberty of conscience is by law settled in England, that the Scots will be denied their freedom in their own country.

As to laws and customs,—they differ not only in many parts of England, but do so likewise in Spain, France, and other Kingdoms without dividing or distracting them. Therefore, all laws of both kingdoms inconsistent with a Union being first abrogated, the rest may be easily accommodated.

The author then recommends the compilation of a new perspicuous and intelligible body of laws, short and yet comprehensive of all cases, much more serviceable to both countries than what is now in practice, which he characterizes as "a waste of precious time and a great reproach to these kingdoms."

As to the Nobility—it would be very unjust for any of them to lose their birth-right without a forfeiture. He recommends that the votes of the Scotch nobility in Parliament should be limited to a number proportionable to the public burden Scotland bears to England, which may be an ease to the Scots nobility, in respect of their expense upon personal attendance in parliament—having only a part of them, chosen either by election or rotation to represent them all in the House of Lords. If none of those proposals please, then he shows that England will be obliged to increase its House of Lords to a number proportional to their *quota.* And that this can be neither the interest of the Crown, peers, nor commons to increase the number of nobles.

He next complains that so many in Scotland are so averse to a Union at a time when England has made so fair a step towards it, more especially when it is confessed

in Scotland that the English Constitution is much easier to the inhabitants than is the Scots to theirs.

He then proceeds to a relation of the common benefits a Union would confer upon both nations.

(1) An accession of numbers of people to each.

(2) An abatement of former rancour and an increase of mutual affection.

(3) An enlargement of territories.

(4) An interest in the same government and common stock, of land, harbours, commodities, &c., of each nation, and a more certain security against the exportation of wool.

(5) An addition of more strength and glory to the Prince and greater security and power to Britain. It may disappoint foreign enemies of any hopes of success in invading the island by engaging one part against the other.

(6) A security to the Protestant Religion not only in Britain, but also in Europe.

(7) It will save much time consumed on the politics and distinct government of Scotland which may be better expended upon the preservation of both against a common enemy, being then united in the same interest.

The peculiar advantages to *England* are—

(1) A deliverance from the fear of a back-door enemy.

(2) A much greater convenience of a fishery.

(3) Plenty of rivers and good harbours.

(4) A stronger security against the exportation of wool, so much the interest of England to prevent.

(5) A place where they may safely dispose of their money in purchase by reason of their Register.

The peculiar advantages to *Scotland* are—

(1) Freedom of Trade.

(2) Quantities of money will be sent down in exchange of commodities without restraint. This will store Scotland with abundance of money. To manage the fishery in

proper places and to make purchases, to which English moneyed men may sooner be tempted than in England for the sake of the Register.

(3) Liberty of Conscience and the alteration, consequential to a Union, of unsociable and inconvenient laws, customs, and manners, will very much encourage trade and strangers to come and dwell in Scotland. This will improve and enrich the country.

(4) There will be nobler and greater preferments, for the Scots nobility and gentry will have equal pretensions with the English to the highest offices in the Kingdom. "It may fall oftener," says the author, "to the Scots, if they retain the same ambition to qualify themselves in arts and arms as hitherto, the opulency of the English making them sometimes more remiss on such occasions."

(5) If the Scots esteem the condition of English subjects better; and their privileges and advantages greater than their own, then it cannot be denied to be a benefit to be admitted equally to the same, though it can be no loss to the English to yield it. Proof of this, in the short Union of both Kingdoms in Oliver's time, when Scotland flourished more than ever before or since and England nothing the worse.

The writer then discusses the likelihood of the whole Island adopting one language and religion. In respect to the latter he says there seems no great difficulty "in case all were comprehended in the National Religion who own the Bible for God's word, and for their rule of faith and practice." As to the language, it is no harder task, if able masters in the English tongue were only encouraged to be schoolmasters in Britain, and all children compelled to learn the same, and their parents, tutors, or parish overseers obliged by penalty to put them to it.

The work concludes with the remark that if it meets with the good fortune to please the best and greatest part of the community, it has obtained its end.

It is very remarkable that this, the last of all the projects proposed by the Chamberlens, should have been the only one destined to be realized. It is not known whether he lived to see the consummation of the Union, but the concise and logical way in which he placed before the public its many advantages must have had great influence. His proposals for the election of representative peers and compulsory education are proofs of his astuteness and far-seeing policy.

There can be little doubt that Hugh Chamberlen, senior, eventually left this island, and retired to Holland, for it is well known that he practised for some years in Amsterdam where he made the acquaintance of Roonhuysen, to whom he sold the family secret of the midwifery forceps. Here he probably died, for no trace of his will or report of his death is to be found in this country. Perhaps some industrious Dutch obstetrician may be able to discover, among his national archives, documents which will inform us concerning the last days and acts of this remarkable man.

DR. PAUL CHAMBERLEN.

DR. PAUL CHAMBERLEN was the second son of Dr. Peter Chamberlen, and was born in Blackfriars, October 22nd, 1635.* Nothing is known of his early life, nor at what university he graduated. He practised in London as a man-midwife, being in possession, as his brother Hugh informs us, of the family secret, and using the forceps in difficult cases of midwifery.

He lived in Great Suffolk Street, Haymarket, and had, by his wife Mary, one son, Paul.

Emulating his brother as a financier, he sent the following petition :—

To the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament assembled

The Humble Petition of Paul Chamberlen Doctor of Physick.

Sheweth

That your Petitioner hath several years imploy'd his Thoughts how he might be most serviceable to his Country and humbly hopes he has fallen upon some demonstrable ways, whereby the Government may be supply'd at all Times with whatsoever sums of Money they shall have occasion for without Annual Interest, and without alienating any more Branches of the Publick Revenue; which said Proposal he is ready to Communicate to this Honourable House when and in what manner they shall be pleas'd to appoint.

And he (as in Duty bound) shall ever pray &c.

P. CHAMBERLEN.

* Register of St. Ann's, Blackfriars.

This was the proposal of a charlatan, and gives us the key to his character. He was in medicine a quack, and was, and is, always best known as the inventor of the "Celebrated Anodyne Necklace, recommended to the world by Dr. Chamberlen for children's teeth, women in labour, &c."

Advertisement from the "Daily Journal."

Of the celebrated Anodyne Necklace, which Dr. Chamberlen has recommended for Children to wear to ease the breeding and cutting of their Teeth.

When Dr. Chamberlen first recommended this Necklace to the World, the success of it was but in its Infancy. But upon the Doctor's Approbation of it, its use began to grow so general in Families, that its Reputation soon became publickly known, Numbers of Children that were almost at Death's Door with Breeding, and Cutting their Teeth, receiving such Ease and Benefit after it was put on:

Insomuch that a vast many of these incomparable Necklaces have been of late years used by Dr. Chamberlen's advice (having testify'd himself his esteem of them, to those who enquir'd of him about 'em) in Numbers of Families, who express their abundant Satisfaction in the Use of them, and that they would not for anything but have had one of 'em for their Children. So that this Great Man's recommendation of this Celebrated Necklace, is no small addition to its value, since he would never have advised the use of it to so many Parents for their Children as he did, unless he was well perswaded of its worth. Whenever therefore you perceive that the Child is Breeding its Teeth, and its Gums to be swell'd, sore or inflam'd therewith. First put on the Necklace to be worn as other Necklaces are. Then let the Nurse or Mother put upon the end of their Finger a drop or two of the liquid Coral, that is put up along with it, and rub it gently to and fro, now and

then over the gums, to make them give way for the easy coming out of the Teeth, and for the pain and anguish to cease.

By these means, Numbers of Children, tho' under great severity of Pain, have soon Cut their Teeth with Ease and Safety: and have been Stronger and healthier at 8 or 9 Months old, than others at 12 or 18 months; by having had (thro' God Almighty's Blessing and Assistance) Fits, Chin-Coughs, Ruptures, Fevers, Convulsions, and other such ailments, incident to Children kept off and prevented to the unspeakable joy of the Parents. This NECKLACE with the liquid Coral, are sealed up with this seal, with directions. Price both together Five shillings or 48s. a dozen to sell again. And what Necklace Shop-keepers or Merchants don't sell are returned again at any time. This Necklace is a proper thing not only for a New Years Gift for God-Fathers, God-Mothers, Relations, Friends, and Acquaintance, to give to Children and Others; but even for a Present for any one to give their Friends at any time of the year. To be had up one pair of Stairs, at the sign of this Anodyne Necklace, just by the Rose Tavern without Temple-Bar; at Mr. Bradshaw's at Sutton-Street End by Soho-Square; at Mr. Cooper's in the Strand; and at Mr. Greg's next Northumberland House at Charing-Cross: Where the practical Scheme is given Gratis.

This Necklace also, besides these just now mentioned effects will give to Women in Labour that wear it (as Dr. Chamberlen expressly advises) such an extraordinary easy time that they will not suffer near so much pain, that they would without it for from the insinuating figure of its *Alcalious atoms* and *effluvia* the same reasons prove that it will act in regard to their delivery as it does to let the teeth out of the lockt-up gums of Children.

For years after the death of Dr. Paul Chamberlen all sorts of quack medicines were sold " up one pair of Stairs

at the Sign of the Anodyne Necklace next to the Rose Tavern without Temple Bar."

In the British Museum, among the original letters to Sir Hans Sloan, is the following from Dr. Paul Chamberlen:—

SIR,—The Lady Courtney having a just confidence in your opinion & forasmuch as she it seems is disappoynted of her midwife who she desired to have & as I understand is resolved to have one from this town the bearer hereof M^{rs}. Bizzol whom I have known several years to be skilled in her profession desires your recoñendation on her behalf to the said Lady w^{ch} if you approve shall be esteemed a favour to sir

Yo^{r} very affectionate humble servant
P. CHAMBERLEN

10 May 1706.

These ffor my Hon^{red} ffreind
DOCT^{r}. SLOAN.

The will of "Paul Chamberlen, M.D.," is dated May 24, 1713, and was proved by his relict, Mary, on December 19, 1717. He left all to his "deare wife," and appointed her sole executrix, and to his only son, Paul, he left five pounds, charging him to be dutiful to his mother. The signature to the will is simply P. Chamberlen (as in his letter to Sir Hans Sloan), and Sus. Lynch and John Shadwell were witnesses to the Doctor being in sound mind and memory.*

* P.C.C. 227, Whitfield.

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DR. JOHN CHAMBERLEN.

DR. JOHN CHAMBERLEN was the fourth son of Dr. Peter Chamberlen, and in common with his brothers Hugh and Paul, possessed the family secret, and practised midwifery. He appears to have been a Doctor of Medicine, but it is not known from which University he obtained his degree. At the time of his death he resided in Clements Danes, but in his will, which is dated 2nd October, 1686, mention is made of a house in Essex Street belonging to him. His will was proved on the 6th January, 1700, and in it he appointed his wife, Mrs. Frances Chamberlen, sole legatee and executrix, witnesses being Charles Davenport, John Barrell, and Sam. Sligh.*

* P.C.C. Noel 4.

HUGH CHAMBERLEN, JUNIOR.

HUGH CHAMBERLEN, JUNIOR, was the eldest son of Hugh Chamberlen, senior. He was born in 1664, and was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, of which house he was a Fellow-commoner. He graduated A.M. per Literas Regias in 1683. Immediately before taking this degree he wrote the following Epithalamium on the marriage of the Princess Anne with Prince George of Denmark, which may be found in the "Hymenæus Cantabrigiensis":—

Inter lætitian solutiorem,
Et plausum, & strepitus ovantis aulæ;
Festo carmine concinamus et nos,
Quotquot Pieridum sumus clientes,
Nuptialia sacra concinamus.
Hymen, ô teneris diu puellis
Expetite, animi tremente voto,
Ardenti juvenum expetite, cincti

Lacta tempora myrteis Corollis,
Concinamus, Hymen, tuos honores.
Hymen, ô iterum invocande custos
Humani generis; fluente seclo
Qui quantum Libitina, sævientis
Et belli furor, orbis è ruinâ,
Addicunt Domino rapacis Orci;
Lactis viribus integrum reponis:
Cincti tempora Myrteis Corollis,
Concinamus, Hymen, tuos honores.
At festivius in domo potenti,
Et Regum thalamis vocaris, Hymen:
Illac te sequimur, favente Musâ,
Quotquot Pieridum sumus clientes;
Et dum conspicuus per ampla tendis
Aulai spatia, hinc et hinc refuso
Cinctus agmine, Nobilisque pompâ;
Concinamus, Hymen, tuos honores.
Quin et me Dii ament, Deæque, quantum
Sincero cupiam precerque voto,
Jungi compede regios amantes
Æternum stabili: Bonaeque Musae
Sic porrò vigeant, diuque vivant,
Dum vos, nomina clara, fervidoque
Certantes studio benigni amoris
Victuris jubeant nitere chartis.

HUGO CHAMBERLEN
Trin. Coll. Comensal.

Translation by Dr. J. W. Browne.

Mid Courts' and Courtiers' boisterous glee
Their cheers and din of revelry,
Blithely sing we too Hymen's rites,
Who are the Muses' acolytes.
Thee shyly blushing girls desire,
Thee madly boys' consuming fire,

Let us, our foreheads girt with bay,
To thee, O Hymen, raise our lay!
Hymen! the Saviour of our race,
Who dost by new the lost replace,
The lost in youth, the lost in age,
And eke the lost in war's red rage.
Let us, our temples bound with bay,
To thee, O Hymen, raise our lay.
Gaily now Hymen thither speed,
Kings and Queens invoke thy need,
Thee we follow on the wing
Of the Muse, while thus we sing,
Hymen, O Hymen, Priest and King!
Lo, thro' the royal courts thy train
O'erflowing, like a stream the plain,
With Pomp and Pride, while all around
Hymen, young Hymen! doth resound.
I pray, my prayers, ye Gods, attest,
The offspring of a loyal breast,
This royal pair, these lovers twain
Be joined by an immortal chain.
So may they flourish, so long live,
So to you, kindly Muses, give
Golden prize in strife of song,
A name as high, a life as long.

HUGH CHAMBERLEN, Commoner of Trinity College.

On the 30th of October, 1684, Hugh Chamberlen, junior, settled at Leyden and entered on the Physic line.

On the 8th of October, 1689, he was created Doctor of Medicine at Cambridge (Comitiis Regiis).

The following excerpts from the "Annals of the College of Physicians" show his connection with that body:—

Jan. 6. 1693 Dr. Hugh Chamberlen of Trinity College in Cambridge who was created Doctor of Physick at Cambridge Oct. 8. 1689 as appeared, by his diploma

was examined the first time in Physiologia in order to be admitted a Candidate and was approved.

Feb. 3. 1693 Dr. Chamberlen was a second time examined and approved.

Mar. 3, 1693 Dr. Chamberlen was a third time examined in Therapeuticks and was approved but with this admonition that he should more diligently apply himselfe to the therapeutick part of physick.

Postri die Festi Palmarum 1693. Dr. Hugh Chamberlen was proposed and admitted Candidate. He gave his faith to his observation of the statutes and subscribed them.

Nov. 3rd 1693 Dr. Chamberlen complained of one Cort, a surgeon, for bleeding and prescribeing internall medicins for Mrs. Hermitage in the Collick and rheumatism without the advice of Dr.Chamberlen who was her physician the said Cort declaring there was no need of any physician although Dr. Chamberlen had been concerned there before and whom they were necessitated to send for again.

Dec. 1. 1693. Dr. Chamberlen Complained of one Cort a surgeon who had not onely prescribed internall medicins and bled Mrs. Hermitage his patient but had also spoke slightingly and scandalously of him all which Cort denied though Dr. Chamberlen brought the bill from the Apothecaryes to whom he had prescribed the medicins. The President forbidd Cort to practise and ordered the Beadle to take care of him about it.

April 2. 1694 Dr. Hugh Chamberlen was proposed balloted and admitted a Fellow. He gave his faith to observe the Statutes.

For some years the College of Physicians had been endeavouring to supply advice gratuitously and medicines at a reasonable price to the sick poor, which gave great offence to the apothecaries, who used their influence with the physicians so successfully as to raise a party in the College in opposition to this charitable measure.

But despite of this opposition, as Dr. Munk writes, "the Comitia Majora Ordinaria of the 22nd December 1696, a proposition was made and adopted for establishing the dispensary by voluntary subscriptions from the Fellows, Candidates and Licentiates of the College, no less than fifty-three of whom joined by their subscriptions and a public document in this benevolent scheme. (Dr. Hugh Chamberlen gave twenty shillings.) Garth, who from his admission into the College had warmly approved of the new Charity, detesting the action of the Apothecaries and of some of his own brethren in this affair, resolved to expose them in his admirable satire 'The Dispensary.'

"The sketches of some of his contemporary physicians are severe and biting—they are interesting to us at the present time as giving us an insight we could not otherwise obtain into their history and manners, and though doubtless exaggerated by the licence conceded to poetry, must have been true to nature, or the work would not have obtained such an immediate and extensive popularity."*

In this poem Dr. Chamberlen appears in Canto V., "The Battle in the Dispensary," under the name of "Psylas." "Chiron" was Dr. Thomas Gill, whose work, "De Partu, &c.," may be found among the Sloan MSS., 2147, British Museum :—

"This Psylas saw, and to the Victor said
Thou shalt not long survive th'unwilling dead.
Thy fate shall follow; to confirm it swore
By th'image of Priapus, which he bore:
And raised an Eagle stone, invoking loud
On Cynthia leaning o'er a silver cloud.
Great Queen of night and Empress of the Seas
If faithful to thy Midnight Mysteries
If still observant of my early vows
These hands have eased the mourning Matron's Throng

* "Roll of the College of Physicians," vol. i. p. 500.

Direct this raised avenging arm aright
So may loud Cymbals aid thy lab'ring Sight.
He said and let the pond'rous fragment fly
At *Chiron*, but learn'd *Hermes* put it by.

Returning to the "Annals of the College of Physicians," it is recorded that on the 30th of September, 1707, Hugh Chamberlen, junior, was proposed, balloted, elected, and sworn a Censor, to which honourable position he was again chosen on the 30th of September, 1719, and again on the 10th of November, 1721.

The life of Hugh Chamberlen, junior, was, compared with that of his father and grandfather, calm and uneventful. He was no enthusiast, either in religion or politics,* nor was he full of projects for his own or other people's welfare. Materials for compiling a biography of him are consequently scarce. A few scraps, however, have been collected and are here given.

Swift, in his journal to Stella, writes :—"I was with Mr. Harley from dinner to seven this night and went to the Coffee-house where Dr. D'Avenant would fain have had me gone and drink a bottle of wine at his house hard by with Dr. Chamberlain; but the puppy used so many words, that I was afraid of his Company; and though we promised to come at eight I sent a messenger to him, that Chamberlain was going to a patient, and therefore we would put it off till another time: so he and the Comptroller and I were prevailed by Sir Matthew Dudley to go to his house where I stayed till twelve and left them."†

From the printed Catalogues of the Fellows of the College of Physicians it is found that Hugh Chamberlen, junior, left his house in Essex Street in 1717 and went to live in King Street, Covent Garden, then the most fashionable part of London. He had at this time

* If it be true that we may judge of a man by the company he keeps, he was a Tory and a Jacobite.

† Letter viii. Nov. 5, 1710.

succeeded in establishing himself not only as a popular obstetrician, but as a trustworthy physician, and he practised as both among the higher classes of society.

Among the Strafford papers is preserved the following letter by him—"To the Right Honourable Countess of Strafford at Boughton in Northamptonshire."

July y^e^ 30th 1720

Madam,

I had ye honour of yrs as soon as I got home. I think there is noe occasion for purgeing Lady Dun as yet; & cannot think ye barley water and hartshorn shavings w^th^ milk can be soe good for her as Ass's milk: but if y^t^ cannot be got? wee must make shift w^th^ it, adding to each quart an ounce of Candied Eringoe root. I shall not faile of obeying y^r^ command, in relation to my L^d^ and all others you command who am

Madam

y^r^ Hon^rs^ most obedient humble servant

HUGH CHAMBERLEN.*

In 1721 Dr. Hugh Chamberlen's health began to fail, and he appears to have left London for a time to recruit his strength, for the "Annals of the College of Physicians" mention the fact of his "being returned to Town" when sworn in Censor on the 10th November of the above-mentioned year. He attended the meetings in December and January, 1722, and at the meeting of February 14th the President acquainted the College that Dr. Chamberlen's health would not permit him to exercise the office of Censor, which he signified by letter, which was read by the Registrar as follows:—

To S^r^ Hans Sloane Presid, &c

S^r^

Finding myself uncapable to execute the office of

* "Miscellaneous English Correspondence," 1698, 1737, Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 22, 221.

Censor this year, I beg the favour of you to recommend another person in my room, and herein you'll oblige

Your most humble Servt

HUGH CHAMBERLEN.

Among the Sloan MSS.* is another letter of Hugh Chamberlen to Sir Hans Sloan, which is here inserted:—

To Sr Hans Sloane Baronat at his House in Bloomsbury Square, London.

July ye 21st 1724,

Sr

I cannot helpe returning you many thanks for yr obligeing letter wch shall allways be acknowledged; tho hope to be at yr next meeting: but could not refrain from owning ye great obligation till then wch causes you the trouble of this.

I will certainly Comply with ye Serjts opinion altho cannot see ye reason of it & take it to be ye highest peice of freindship in you ye acquainting me of it who am ever wth respect

Sr

yr most obliged

humble Servant

HUGH CHAMBERLEN

Hugh Chamberlen, junr., was a friend of Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, and in 1723 he was permitted by warrant to visit the Bishop, who was confined in the Tower, in the place of Dr. Freind when this physician also became a prisoner in the Tower.

Dr. Freind mentions Hugh Chamberlen in his work on Small-pox published in 1719, and in his fifth History styles him "Peritissimus H. Chamberlen."

In July, 1723, Hugh Chamberlen, junr., made his will, and in July, 1725, added a codicil, and between these dates, as the latter document informs us, he was seized with a

* 4040 vol. c. f. 170, 1. British Museum.

"lethargic fitt and was induced to make the addition knowing the nature of that distemper and to prevent the wasting of my estate in case of a relapse." He died the 17th of June, 1728, and his death is recorded as follows in the newspapers of that date:—

"The London Journal," Saturday, June 22nd, 1728.

"Deaths—Monday night last died Dr. Chamberlain, a famous Physician and Man-Midwife of the gout in his stomach."

"The Country Journal, or the Craftsman." Saturday, June 22nd, 1728.

"The eminent physician and Man-midwife Dr. Hugh Chamberlen who died on Monday night was grandson of the famous Dr. Peter Chamberlen, who with his father and uncles were physicians to King James I. King Charles I. King Charles II. King James II. and King William, to their respective Queens and to Queen Anne. He was the last of that ancient family who practised the Art of Midwifery in the Kingdom except Dr. Walker* in Great Suffolk Street who is Grandson to the fore-mentioned Dr. Peter Chamberlen."

Hugh Chamberlen, junr., was married three times and had three daughters—Mary, by his first wife, Anna Maria and Charlott by his second. His third wife, Lady Crew, who was the daughter of Sir Willoughby Aston, Bart., and relict of Sir Thomas Crew, of Utkington in Cheshire, Kt., survived him and died suddenly, April 6th, 1734. His first wife was Mary, only daughter and heiress of Nathaniel Bacon, Esquire, of Friston, and by this marriage he became possessed of the Manors of Alderton Hall. His daughter

* According to Dr. William Douglas, this Dr. Walker was the inventor of the English lock of midwifery forceps, for in his letter to Smellie, he says, "Dr. Walker pretended to improve Dr. Chamberlen's forceps but in truth spoil'd them by making them *male* and *female*."—A letter to Dr. Smellie, &c. 1748, p. 8.

Mary died unmarried. Anna Maria married that distinguished statesman the Right Hon. Edward Hopkins, M.P. for Coventry in the time of King William III. and Queen Anne, and Secretary of State for Ireland. She died the 9th of February, 1768, aged 67, and was buried at Coventry. Charlott married Richard Luther, Esquire, of Myles in Essex, and this estate continued for many years the undivided property in equal moieties of their descendants.*

Among his patients and friends none had a higher esteem for Hugh Chamberlen, junr., than John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, and his Duchess. The Duke, in his essays, thus refers to him:—

"Physicians are commonly believ'd to be of a profession both honest and skilful; yet their art is little better than that of a pegler or Astrologer; which is no art at all, but cozening the ignorant. This is only the case in general: for I doubt not but some Physicians are abler and honester than the rest; and I have myself had the experience of One, whose skill, honesty, and friendship, has recovered the most valuable part of my family out of dangers in which we have almost despaired of success, and restored her to perfect health."

After the death of the Duke Hugh Chamberlen, junr., lived on the most intimate terms with Catherine, Duchess of Buckingham. She was the Duke's third wife, and was daughter of King James II. by Catherine, only daughter of Sir Charles Sedley, Bart., who was afterwards created Countess of Dorchester. The Duchess was born in 1681, and married in 1699 to James, Earl of Anglesea, from whom she was afterwards separated by Act of Parliament for his cruelty and causeless ill-usage.

The character of the Duchess written by Pope is well known—but not so "An addition by Lord Bathurst," which,

* "Supplement to the Suffolk Traveller," by Augustine Page. Ipswich, 1844, p. 138.

by permission of the owner, Sir Robert Sheffield, Bart., is copied from a MS. volume formerly the property of the Duke.

"As to her person, it may justly be say'd that it seem'd adapted by Nature, as a proper receptacle for such a soul: most amiable and majestick; the nicest eye could find no fault in the outward lineaments of her face or proportion of her body, but everything about her seem'd form'd to create love and respect, such a sweetness, such a softness as must inspire love in everyone that saw her, but such a dignity and such a grace as must immediately turn it to admiration. She alone seem'd insensible to those charms which Nature had so lavish'd upon her, so form'd to please, that no one could look at her without love, and yet so awful that the most audacious could not dare to own it. The painter's pencil or the poet's pen cou'd never image anything so near perfection.

"N.B. Lady Dutchess thinks Mr. Pope's account over partiall to her person and Lord Batthurst most politely flattering of it."

It would appear that during the latter years of his life Hugh Chamberlen, junr., lived at Buckingham House, for in a codicil to his will dated 5th March, 1725-6, he makes certain provisions for his wife, Lady Crew, with the understanding "that she never doth at any time hereafter refuse any of my daughters the doctors they shall bring the Dutchess of Buckingham and Countess of Arran admittance to me during any indisposition of mine either in body or mind whenever they shall please or to continue as long as they shall think proper."

Mrs. Delany, also writing on the 25th November, 1727, says—

"One piece of extraordinary news I had almost forgotten to tell you, the Duchess of Buckingham and Doctor Chamberlayne are parted, she has no further

business for him, and so has sent him home to his wife."*

He also died at Buckingham House, as we find from a letter written by Mr. Morice to Bishop Atterbury.

"On Monday evening died poor Dr. Chamberlen, after a lingering illness. His death indeed was not so great a surprise, as that it did not happen sooner. He had been visibly decaying a long time.

"The young Duke of Buckingham will have a loss in him; for it is to his tender care of him that his Grace in a great measure owes his life. The Duchess also will greatly miss him, and is sensibly concerned at the loss.

"He died at Buckingham House; from whence her Grace immediately retired, and is not to return till after the funeral. Three days before his death (when it was to be read in his face) Mrs. Morice and I were admitted to see him. He inquired very affectionately after you, and desired us not to forget his service to you."†

Bishop Atterbury, in a letter to his daughter, Mrs. Morice, about the death of Hugh Chamberlen, junior, writes—

"Poor Dr. Chamberlen's death struck me though I had been for some time in expectation of that news. Let me know how the Duchess does, and when she returns to Buckingham House."‡

He also writes to his daughter—

"Tell Mr. Morice that I will do my part as to the Epitaph desired, provided I have the proper materials relating to Dr. Chamberlen's family, birth, age, children &c. which must be sent me with all exactness."§

The following is the Epitaph which the Bishop wrote:—

* "Life and Correspondence," vol. i. p. 149.

† "Life and Correspondence of Bishop Atterbury," vol. ii. p. 282

‡ "Memoir and Letters," vol. ii. p. 294.

§ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 299.

HUGO CHAMBERLEN

Hugonis ac Petri utriusque Medici
Filius ac Nepos:
Medicinam ipse excoluit feliciter et egregie honestavit:
ad Summam quippe Artis suæ peritiam,
Summam etiam in Dictis et Factis Fidem,
Insignem Mentis Candorem,
Morumque Suavitatem, adjunxit,
Ut, an Languentibus an Sanis acceptior,
An Medicus an vir Melior esset,
Certatum sit inter eos,
Qui in utroque laudis genere Primarium fuisse,
Uno ore consentiunt.

Nullam ille medendi rationem non assecutus,
Depellendis tamen Puerperarum periculis,
Et avertendis Infantium morbis,
Operam præcipue impendit;
Eâque multoties cavit,
Ne Illustribus Familiis eriperentur Hœredes unici,
Ne Patriæ Charissimæ Cives egregii.
Universis certe prodesse quantum potuit, Voluit,
Adeoque, distractâ in Partes Republicâ.
Cum iis, a quorum sententia discessit
Amicitiam nihilomimus sancte coluit,
Artisque suæ præsidia lubens communicavit,

Fuit ille
Tantâ Vitæ elegantiâ ac nitore
Animo tam forti tamque excelso,
Indole tam propensâ ad Munificentiam,
Specie ipsâ tam ingenuâ atque liberali,
Ut facile crederes
Prosapiæ ejus nobilem aliquem extitisse Auctorem

Utcumque expræclarâ stirpe Veterum Comitum
Tankerville,
Jam a quadringentis Illum annis ortum nescires.

In diversâ quam expertus est Fortunæ sorte,
Quod suum erat quod decuit semper tenuit ;
Cum Magnis vivens haud demisse se gessit
Cum Mininis non aspere, non inhumane,
Utrosque eodem bene Merendi studio complexus,
Utrosque idem, æque utilis ac charus.
Filius erat mirâ in Patrem pietate ;
Pater Filiarum Amantissimus
Quas quidem tres habuit,
Unam e prima conjuge, duas ex altera,
Castas bonas, Matrum simillimas.
Cum iis omnibus usque ad mortem conjunctissimè vixi
Tertiam Uxorem sibi superstitem reliquit.

Ad humaniores illas ac Domesticas Virtutes
Tanquam Cumulus accessit
Rerum Divinarum Amor non fictus.
Summa Numinis ipsius Reverentia,
Quibus imbuta Mens,
Exuvias jam Corporis depositura,
Ad Superiora se erexit,
Morbi diutini languoribus infracta permansit,
Et vitam tandem hanc minimè vitalem,
Non dissolute, non infructuose actam,
Morte vere Christiana Claudens,
Ad Patriam Cœlestem migravit.

Obiit 17° Junii, A.D. 1728.

Annis, Sexaginta quatuor expletis :
Provectiore ætate sane dignus,
Cujus ope effectum est, ut multi,

Non inter primos pene Vagitus extincti
Ad extremam nunc Senectutem possint pervenire.

Viro Integerrimo, Amicissimo,
Ob servatam in partu vitam,
Ob restitutam sæpius
Et Confirmatam tandem
Valetudinem,
Monumentum hoc Sepulchrale
Ejus Effigie insignitum posuit
Edmundus Dux Buckinghamensis,
Appositis hinc inde Statuis
Ad exemplum Marmoris antiqui expressis,
Quæ et quid ab Illo præstitum sit,
Et quid Illi redditum, licet adhuc debetur
Posteris testatum faciant."

Translation of Epitaph by Dr. J. W. Browne.

Hugh Chamberlen
of Hugh and Peter, both physicians,
The Son and Grandson,
Like these, followed Medicine successfully and singularly
adorned his Calling:
Who to the utmost skill in his Art
So joined perfect Honesty of Word and Deed,
Extraordinary Purity of Mind
And Gentleness of Manners,
That whether to the Whole or to the Sick he came more
welcome,
Whether he were better Man or Physician,
Has been eagerly disputed among those
Who with one voice agree to proclaim Him
In both characters Foremost.
Skilled in not one but every branch of Healing
To the perils of childbearing in women,
And to the diseases of Infants

He gave his most anxious pains:
And herein oftenest was it His care
That noble families were not bereft of their only Heirs
And his beloved Country of eminent Citizens.
All alike he had the Will not less than the Power to serve,
And thereto, when the State was rent by Faction,
He piously extended even to those whose opinions were not his
His Friendship and to them too freely imparted the resources of his Skill.
The Elegance and Splendour of his Life,
The Strength and Loftiness of his Mind,
The inbred Generosity of his bent,
The Frankness and Nobility of his very Bearing,
Had been sure proofs to all
That his stock was of no ignoble Origin:
Even tho' they knew not that he traced his descent thro' 400 years
To the Illustrious race of the Ancient Earls of Tankerville.

Familiar with every Rank and Condition of Life,
He claimed and received from all his due and Honour,
An intimate of the Great he preserved his self-respect,
Of the Meanest, his Courtesy and kindness,
His zeal of well-doing admitting of no distinction,
To both alike he became at once Benefactor and Friend.
A Son, he was of wonderful duty and affection toward his Father,
A Father of his daughters most loving:
Of Them he had three, one by his first, two by his second wife,

Chaste and Good, most like to their Mothers.
With all of these to the day of his death he lived in closest bonds of love,
His third Wife he left to survive him.
To these social and Domestic Virtues
There failed not the Crown of
A deep sense and love of Religion
And an awful reverence for its Great Source:
Upborne by these his Soul,
Now ripe to burst through the slough of this body,
Nor drawing feebleness from the languors of a long disease,
Aspired to Heaven,
And, finally closing this Life of Mortality,
(Yet a life not wasted but full of good fruits),
With a death most truly Christian,
Soared to its Heavenly Home.
He died on the 17th day of June In the Year of our Lord 1728, and in the 64th year of his life
Worthy indeed to have lived a longer life,
To whose skill only it was due that many
Were not early snatched away midst their first wailings,
But even now survive to the utmost limits of old age.

To This Man Most Upright, most dear,
For Life saved at birth,
For Health so often restored
And at length assured,
Edmund Duke of Buckingham
Has raised this monument and Tomb,
Ennobled by His Effigy,
And with statues set on either side
(Fashioned upon the model of an ancient marble),

To the end that they may bear witness to posterity
How great has been the Debt due to Him,
This Acknowledgment how poor.

This epitaph was engraved upon a magnificent cenotaph, erected, doubtless at the suggestion of his mother, by her youthful son Edmund, Duke of Buckingham. Dean Stanley tells us in his "History of Westminster Abbey," that by a Chapter order of May 16th, 1729 (afterwards rescinded) the Duchess of Buckingham was allowed to take down the screen of the sacrarium to erect this monument. It was eventually placed in the north aisle of the choir, and is thus described by Neale :—

"The monument of Hugh Chamberlen, M.D., which is the first that engages attention on the south side, is a very handsome composition of white and variegated marbles. It principally consists of an inscribed basement, a sarcophagus, several figures, a pyramid, and a circular pediment (with mantling) rising from pilasters of the Doric Order. On the sarcophagus is a finely-executed statue of the deceased, in his Doctor's gown, reclining upon a mattress; his right arm being supported by cushions, and his hand extended on his cap; in his left hand he holds a book, which also rests upon his knee. There is much ease and gracefulness in the position of this figure; the features are expressive and penetrating, and the drapery well cast. At the sides of the sarcophagus, on receding pedestals, are statues of Health and Longevity; the cup and serpent which distinguished the former are now broken; the latter is resting her right hand upon a shield, on which are sculptured a lion couchant and a soaring eagle. On the pyramid is a winged boy, or angel, bearing a wreath and a trumpet, and two other boys are seated on the ascending sides of the pediment, each upholding a medallion of a female. The sculptors were Peter Schumakers and Laur Delvaux."

Arms: painted. Sab. an Escutcheon Arg. within an Orle of Cinquefoils, Or, Chamberlen. *

Cenotaph of Hugh Chamberlen, Junior.

In the British Museum is to be found "The Catalogue of the Library of Hugh Chamberlen M.D. lately deceased to be sold very cheap on Tuesday April 2nd 1734, beginning at eight in the morning by Fletcher Gyles bookseller over against Gray's Inn in Holborn." It contained 1734 volumes, 165 of which were medical books.

* Neale's "Westminster Abbey," p. 127.

Will of Hugh Chamberlen, Junior.

The following will and codicils are extracted from the principal Registry of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice :—

In the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

In the Name of God, Amen, This twenty sixth day of July in the yeare of our Lord one thousand seven hundred twenty and three I Hugh Chamberlen of the parish of St Paul Covent Garden in the County of Middlesex Doctor in Physick being in perfect health and of sound mind and memory yet considering the uncertainty of life do make this my last will and testament in manner and form following First and principally I recommend my Soul to the infinite mercy of God my body to the earth to be decently buryed at the discretion of my executrixes herein after named but would not have the expenses of my funerall exceed two hundred pounds I give to my three daughters Mary Ann Maria and Charlott Chamberlen the annual sume of one hundred pounds a year for and during the term of thirty years to commence from my death and fully to be compleat and ended and charge All my reall and personall estate with the payment thereof to be paid quarterly at Michaelmas Christmas Lady day and Midsummer without deduction for taxes to be paid by them to such person as I have or shall direct I also give my said daughters the gross sume of one hundred pounds of lawfull money to be disposed off as I shall appoint Item I bequeath to my wife commonly called the Lady Crew the sume of five hundred pounds and all the arrears of rents of her jointure-lands which shall be due at my death together with her jewells and paraphernalia and such plate as she was possessed of at our marriage as shall be unaltered and undisposed of at my death provided and upon condition she shall not nor do claime any dower or thirds out of the estate in Essex which I have setled on my daughter Mary

Chamberlen or any dower thirds or any other part of my reall or personall estate other than what is hereby given her and do within two months after my death at the request costs and charges of my daughter Mary Chamberlen execute a release of dower and thirds in and to the said estate and all her right and title to my reall and personall estate except as aforesaid and on further condition she indemnify my executrixes from all charges of the lawsuite with Mr. Crew and others in contesting John Crew's will and if my said wife shall refuse to execute such release or shall not indemnify my executrixes as aforesaid then I give the said sume of five hundred pounds and the said arrears of rents and plate to my said daughter Mary Chamberlen And if my said wife shall recover her thirds out of the said estate settled by me on my said daughter Mary Then I give my said daughter Mary as a recompense for the loss she shall sustain by such recovery the further sume of one thousand pounds over and above what is hereby given her Item I give my said daughter Mary the further sume of fifteen hundred pounds in lieu of Drakes Farme and other lands by me lately sold and which lands I had given her by a former will and the reason I have made no larger provision for my said wife is because she has an ample provision out of her former husbands estate out of which I have had little or no profitt and because at her importunity I gave the sume of one thousand pounds to her neece Mrs. Betty Aston and another thousand pounds which by our marriage agreement if I had outlived her I gave her power to dispose of Item I bequeath to my niece Elizabeth Aston the sume of twenty pounds of lawfull money and to such of my servants as shall have lived with me seaven years one years wages and to the rest of my servants who shall be in my service at my death forty shillings apeice I give to my man servant all my wearing apparell and linnen I usually weare if he is in my service at my death Item I give to the poor of the severall parishes of

St. Pauls Covent Garden and Saint Clements Danes in the County of Middlesex and to the Poor of Alderton in the County of Suffolk five pounds to each parish to be distributed by the Ministers of the said respective parishes as they shall think fitt And whereas the sume of ten thousand and five hundred pounds is secured to me my heires executors and administrators by mortgage and other securitys from Thomas Coke of Holtham in the County of Norfolk Esq. five thousand two hundred and fifty pounds part of which sume of ten thousand and five hundred pounds is the proper money of the most Noble Katherine Dutchess of Buckinghamshire and Normanby as by a Declaration of Trust under my hand and seale appears and the other five thousand two hundred and fifty pounds is my own proper money Now I doe hereby devise one moiety of the mannors lands tenements and hereditaments to me conveyed by the said Thomas Coke or any other In trust for me And one full moiety of the said sume of ten thousand and five hundred pounds being five thousand two hundred and fifty pounds and all interest due or to grow due for the same to the said Katherine Dutchess of Buckinghamshire and Normanby her heires executors administrators and assignes in performance and execution of the trust reposed in me by her grace And as to the remaining five thousand two hundred and fifty pounds belonging to me I give two thousand five hundred pounds part thereof to my said daughter Mary Chamberlen And the remaining two thousand seaven hundred and fifty pounds I give to my daughters Anna Maria and Charlott share and share alike and all the rest and residue of my reall and personall estate whatsoever and wheresoever not herein before by me disposed of after my debts legacies and funeralls paid I give and devise the same to my said three daughters Mary Chamberlen Anna Maria Chamberlen and Charlott Chamberlen their heires executors and administrators equally to be divided between them share

and share alike as tennants in common and not as joint tennants And of this my last will and testament I doe make ordain constitute and appoint my said three daughters Mary Anna Maria and Charlott my Executrices And I hereby expressly revoke all former and other wills and codicills by me made and do declare this to me my last will & testament. Witness my hand and seal the daye and year first above written.

Hugh Chamberlen—Signed sealed published and declared by the said Hugh Chamberlen as and for his last will and testament in our presence who in his presence have all subscribed our names as witnesses hereunto—Middleton Walker—William Cooper—Charles Boucher—

Be it known That whereas I Hugh Chamberlen of the Parish of St. Paul Covent Garden in the County of Middlesex Doctor in Physick did make my last will and testament in writing dated the twenty sixth day of July which was in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred twenty and three and thereby did among other legacies therein mentioned bequeath to my daughters Anna Maria and Charlott Chamberlen the sume of two thousand seaven hundred and fifty pounds being the residue of Mr. Cokes mortgage therein mentioned share and share alike And did by my said will give the residue of my reall & personall estate to my three daughters Mary Chamberlen Anna Maria Chamberlen and Charlott Chamberlen their heirs executors and administrators share and share alike as tennants in common not as joint tenants and of my said will did make my said three daughters my executors And whereas I the said Hugh Chamberlen was seized with a lethargic fitt and being by the great mercy and goodness of God recovered yett knowing the nature of that Distemper and to prevent the wasting of my estate in case of a relapse I the said Hugh Chamberlen by Indenture dated the ninth day of December last past before the date of these presents And made between me of the one part and the Most Noble Catherine

Dutchess of Buckinghamshire and Normanby and the Honorable Charles Collier youngest son of the Right Honorable David Earle of Portmore of the other part therein reciteing the contents of my said will And that I was seized and possessed of the real and personall estate therein and in the schedule thereunto annexed mentioned I the said Hugh Chamberlen for the considerations therein mentioned did grant and assigns the said reall and personal estate therein and in the Schedule thereunto annexed mentioned and among others a mortgage from S^{r} John Webb Barrt for two thousand pounds and a mortgage from Francis Cottington Esq for three thousand pounds and the lease of the house wherein I now live and all my personall estate to the said Dutchess and Charles Collier on severall trusts to be performed in my lifetime and after my decease among other trusts therein mentioned to pay my said daughter Mary Chamberlen the sumes of five hundred pounds one thousand pounds and fifteen hundred pounds on the contingencies therein mentioned And upon further trust to apply the sume of five thousand two hundred and fifty pounds therein and in my said will mentioned in manner following (vizt) Two thousand five hundred pounds part thereof to my said daughter Mary and to pay two thousand seaven hundred and fifty pounds residue thereof to my said daughters Anna Maria and Charlott Chamberlen share and share alike And upon further trust to devide the residuum of my reall and personall estate among my said three daughters Mary Chamberlen Anna Maria Chamberlen and Charlott Chamberlen share and share alike in which said Indenture it is provided and declared that it shall and may be lawfull to and for me the said Hugh Chamberlen before I shall be declared incapable to manage my affairs by the persons therein named by any deed or writing signed with my name of my own hand writing and duely sealed before four credible witnesses to revoke alter change and make void all and every the estates

uses trusts matters and things in the said Indenture contained and by the same or any other deed or writing signed sealed and attested as aforesaid to make any other grant or disposition of the same or any part thereof as I shall think fitt as by the said Indenture relation being thereunto had may more fully appeare And whereas I the said Hugh Chamberlen have since marryed my daughter the said Anna Maria Chamberlen to Edward Hopkins of the City of Coventry Esq and in consideration of the said marriage I did agree to pay or secure the sume of six thousand three hundred and sixty pounds which together with her share of her mothers estate in land valued at three thousand six hundred and forty pounds amounts to the sume of ten thousand pounds which was to be in full for her portion and for payment thereof I have with the consent and privity of the above named trustees in the said recited Indenture named assigned to the said Edward Hopkins the said S^r^ John Webbs mortgage for two thousand pounds and the said Francis Cottingtons mortgage for three thousand pounds and the sume of thirteen hundred and sixty pounds part of the sume of five thousand two hundred and fifty pounds above mentioned due from the said Mr. Coke in the said deed and in my will named in full payment of the said sume of six thousand three hundred and sixty pounds which with her share of her mothers lands computed at Three thousand six hundred and forty pounds amounts to the sume of Ten thousand pounds the portion agreed to be given to the said Edward Hopkins on his marriage with the said Anna Maria as aforesaid And therefore I the said Hugh Chamberlen by Indorsement written on the said recited Indenture dated the eighteenth day of March last past before the date of these presents and attested by four credible witnesses did pursuant to the said power to me reserved revoke and make void the said Agreement made by the said recited Indenture of the

said Sr John Webbs and Francis Cottington's mortgages and the sumes of two thousand pounds and three thousand pounds thereon due and the Trust for the said Anna Maria declared by the said recited Indenture and also the Trust declared touching her part and share of the said Five thousand two hundred and fifty pounds and touching the part and share of the residue of my undisposed personall estate and all other the trusts whatsoever by the above written Indenture declared for the said Anna Maria my said daughter And I the said Hugh Chamberlen Did thereby declare that my said daughter Anna Maria was fully advanced and that the said Anna Maria should have no part of my personall estate other than such legacy as by Codicill hereafter to be made I should give her as by the said Indenture may more fully appear And whereas I have determined to make some alterations in my said will and testament Now to the end to keep peace in my Family by this present writing I do hereby revoke that part of my will which gives the Residuum of my personall estate to my said daughters Mary Anna Maria and Charlott Chamberlen and also the Residuum of my said personall estate assigned to them by the above recited Deed And whereas the fortune of Six thousand three hundred and sixty pounds given to my said daughter Anna Maria and secured as aforesaid was declared by her marriage settlement by the said Edward Hopkins and my said daughter together with the Land she is intituled unto from her mother to amount together to the sume of ten thousand pounds and that the same was in full of all provisions by me made to my said daughter Anna Maria Now I do hereby declare the same portion shall be in full of all portions sume or sumes of money by me setled on her by any deed will or otherwise and that she shall have nothing out of my reall and personall estate but what is hereby given her And I doe direct that before my said daughter

Anna Maria Hopkins takes or receives any advantage from what is hereby given her that she and the said Edward Hopkins her husband doe release all right title claim and demand to all sumes of money payable to my said daughter by virtue of any settlement or disposition made by me in her favour other than what I have given her in marriage, and what I hereby give her And whereas I have given my said daughter Mary a farme at Dudbrook in the County of Essex of the value of two thousand pounds and by my will and otherwise have given her two thousand five hundred pounds part of the said Mr. Coke's mortgage and fifteen hundred pounds in lieu of Drakes Farme and one thousand pounds in money and one thousand pounds more part of three thousand pounds due to me from Charles Tryon Esq which together makes up Eight thousand pounds Now I direct that my said daughter Mary shall have out of my personall estate the further sume of two thousand pounds so as to make up her portion Ten thousand pounds And whereas I have given or setled on my said daughter Charlott by will or otherwise the sume of thirteen hundred and sixty pounds part of the said Mr. Cokes mortgage and the sume of three thousand pounds by another Settlement which said sumes with her share of her mothers estate computed at three thousand six hundred and forty pounds amount to the sume of eight thousand pounds Now I direct that my said daughter Charlott shall have out of my personall estate the further sume of two thousand pounds to make up her portion in land and money the sume of ten thousand pounds it being my intention that my said daughters shall have in land and money Ten thousand pounds apeice And I doe hereby direct that after my debts funeralls and legacies paid the residuum of my personall estate be divided into three equall parts One third part whereof I give to my said daughter Mary her Executors administrators and assigns one other third part I give to my said daughter Hopkins her executors adm^{rs} and assigns

and the remaining third part I give to my said daughter Charlott her executors administrators and assigns And I appoint my said daughters Mary Chamberlen Anna Maria Hopkins and Charlott Chamberlen Executors of my will And I doe hereby confirm my said will in all other things other than and except what I have hereby thought fitt to revoke alter or change Witness my hand and seale this twenty eighth day of July in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand seven hundred twenty and five and in the eleventh yeare of the reigne of our Gracious Sovereigne Lord King George by the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith &c.

Hugh Chamberlen, Signed sealed delivered and published by the within named Hugh Chamberlen in the presence of Nath. Pigot—Peter Cosset—Jn° Mead—D^d^ Willemin.

Be it known to all persons whatsoever That I Hugh Chamberlen MD of the parish of St. Paul Covent Garden in the County of Middlesex having made my last will and testament on the 26th day of July in the year 1723 I doe by this Codicill in all things confirm the same but direct farther that Lady Crewe my wife provided she doth release all pretensions to her Dower as is in my said will mentioned and conform in all things to what is therein desired of her and that she never doth at any time hereafter refuse any of my daughters the doctors they shall bring the Dutchess of Buckingham and Countess of Arran, admittance to me during any indisposition of mine either in body or mind when ever they shall please or to continue as long as they shall think proper that then she shall have left to the choice of my Executrixes either my house in Kings Street with Stable roome for a coach and pair of horses during the term of her natural life and the use of the furniture of her now Bedchamber, closett, drawing room and dineing room up one pair of stairs her neeces room and the room and use of the furniture thereof which her servants now

enjoy or one hundred pounds per annum in lieu of this dureing the term of her natural life which my executrix's shall like best Item I give to His Grace the Duke of Buckingham his mother's picture done by Zinck in Enamell and her picture done by Mr. Dahll and my best diamond ring I give to her Grace which she gave me Witness my hand this 5th day of March 1725/6 Hugh Chamberlen.

4 July 1728

Appeared personally John Jackson of the parish of St. James Westminster in the County of Middlesex Apothecary and John Stevens of the same parish Surgeon and by virtue of their corporall oaths taken on the Holy Evangelists deposed that they well knew Hugh Chamberlen late of the parish of St. Paul Covent Garden in the said County Doctor in Physick deceased and have often seen him write letters and other writings and also subscribe his name and thereby became well acquainted with his manner and character of hand writing and they having now seen the Schedule hereunto annexed beginning thus (Be it known to all persons) and ending thus (this 5th day of March 1725/6) and thus subscribed (Hugh Chamberlen) do say and depose that they verily believe the said Schedule to be totally wrote and subscribed by and with the proper hand of the said Hugh Chamberlen Doctor in Physick deceased — Jn° Jackson — J. Stevens. Die prd — Dicti Johannes Jackson et Johannes Stevens jurati Fuerunt deveritate pemissorum coram me. Gul Strahan Sur-Prsente. Ja Pinfold N.P.

Probatum fuit hujusmodi Testamentum apud London (cum Duobus Codicillis annexis) sexto die mensis July Anno Domini Millesimo Septingentesimo vicesimo octavo coram Venerabili viro Carolo Pinfold Legum Doctore Surrogato Venerabilis et egregy viri Johannis Bettesworth Legum Doctoris Curiæ prerogative Cantuar magistri custodis sive Commissary legitime constituti Juramentis

Marie Chamberlen Solute Anne Marie Hopkins (Uxoris Edvardi Hopkins) et Charlotte Chamberlen Solute Filiarum dicti defuncti et executricum in dicto testamento nominat Quibus commisa fuit Administratio omnium et singulorum bonorum jurium et creditorum dicti defuncti de bene et fideliter Administrando eadem ad sancta Dei Evangelia Jurat.

A CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE INVENTION OF THE MIDWIFERY FORCEPS.

IT is beyond doubt a fact that Arabian surgeons used forceps to deliver the fetal head in difficult labours. Avicenna mentions them, and Albucasis gives drawings of barbarous instruments which were intended to be used as cranioclasts. It is not, however, proposed to consider these or any other evidences of the existence of midwifery forceps in remote times, for to whatever state of perfection they might have been brought, all knowledge of them had for centuries been lost, and re-invention had become a necessity.

Nor will the question be considered whether Rueff has any right to be looked upon as the inventor of midwifery forceps, or rather of its proto-type, for he has no such claim. In 1554 he published a book on midwifery,* which bears no evidence of his being an obstetrician of exceptional talent. The book was inferior to that of Rhodion which preceded it, and contained a large amount of useless and mischievous matter. Unfortunately for English matrons, it was translated into our language under the title of "The Expert Midwife," and became popular with midwives, who learnt from it much of which it had been better they had remained ignorant. Rueff displayed no signs of originality or genius in this book, and his name would scarcely now be known, had it not been for his description of the method by which dead children should be extracted, and

* "De conceptu et generatione nominis, &c."

the instruments he advised to be used for that purpose, viz., the duck-bill forceps, the tooth forceps, and the long and smooth forceps. It is to the mention of this last-named instrument that he owes his notoriety, but it is evident that he selected the three instruments from the ordinary surgeon's armamentarium of that period, considering them to be the most appropriate for seizing the head of a dead fetus. He lays no claim to be the inventor of any one of them, and probably mentions them in what he considered to be their order of merit and efficiency. The long and smooth forceps, of which there is a representation in his book, is, as Mulder observes, like lithotomy forceps, and it is possible that it may have been made for extracting stones from the bladder. It could have been no more his intention to grasp the whole fetal head with this instrument, than with the tooth forceps, both of which could only have been used to seize portions of the broken-up fetal skull. Curiously enough, Heister recommends stone forceps for extracting a dead fetus. He says, "They also act with reason, in my opinion, who use the large forceps for extracting the stone, as much better than hooks or any other instruments."* Whatever this long and smooth forceps was originally used for, it is impossible now to say, but it seems most improbable that Rueff ever intended it to be used in the same manner as the modern midwifery forceps, of the construction and beneficent use of which he had not the slightest knowledge. Is it possible that an obstetrician who had invented and appreciated the midwifery forceps, could recommend or even mention the use of tooth forceps for the extraction of the fetal head? The two portions of the Chamberlen forceps were separable, and in this consisted the novelty and excellence of the instrument. Rueff's forceps had no such arrangement.

It is not intended to consider the claims of other supposed inventors of the midwifery forceps, for the memorials

* "General System of Surgery," part ii. sec. v. chap. 153.

of the Chamberlen family now before the reader irresistibly prove that to one of these four generations of obstetricians the honour of the invention belongs. One question alone is left to be solved—Which of the Chamberlens was the inventor?

To answer this question satisfactorily, it will be necessary to begin with the time when the knowledge of the midwifery forceps had become general, and then endeavour to trace the history of the invention back to the inventor.

It was not till the beginning of the eighteenth century that the secret of the Chamberlens began to be known. Edmund Chapman published an account of the midwifery forceps in 1733. At that time he writes, "I must observe that as there are several different sorts of forceps, so they are all far from being equally proper, and great regard is to be had to their form."* He also adds, "The secret intimated by Dr. Chamberlen, by which his father, two brothers, and himself, saved such children as presented with the head, but could not be born by natural pains, was, as is generally believed, if now past all dispute, the use of the forceps, now well known to all the principal men of the profession, both in town and country."†

Good evidence therefore exists that in 1733 there were "different sorts of forceps," and that they were "well known." How much earlier than this date had the secret been discovered? Chapman was a country surgeon, practising in South Halstead, in Essex, and had not the opportunity enjoyed by his London brethren of informing himself readily and immediately concerning improvements in practice; nevertheless, he had for a long time before he wrote, been using midwifery forceps, for he says, "For many years my forceps happened to be made of so soft a metal as to bend or give way, or suffer some alteration in their curve. They were made as usual, with the screw

* "A Treatise on the Improvement of Midwifery," Preface.

† Ibid. Introduction.

fixed to one part or side of them. These I used for some years, but they often happening to slip off sideways as before-mentioned, my opinion of the instrument was so much lessened that for many years after I used it but seldom, and even not once for the space of ten years."*

It is not improbable, that William Sermon knew something about the midwifery forceps, for writing on "The most certain signs of dead births and how to expell the same,"† he says, "but when it falleth out that none of these medicines shall take effect there are several other ways, but more severe and violent, as the crotchet, hooks, *tongs*, and other instruments." It is, however, quite certain that during the first half of the eighteenth century the construction and use of the midwifery forceps had become well known. Fielding Ould writes, in 1742, "The best adapted instrument is the large forceps, which is in general use all over Europe."‡

Discovery of the Chamberlen Instruments.

In the year 1818 Mr. H. H. Carwardine presented to the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society of London the obstetric instruments discovered in the house of Dr. Peter Chamberlen, accompanying them with the following brief notice:—"In depositing the obstetric instruments of the Chamberlens among the archives of the Medico-Chirurgical Society, I beg to offer a few facts and observations, which may serve to authenticate their genuineness and their originality. The estate of Woodham Mortimer Hall, near Maldon, in Essex, was purchased by Dr. Peter Chamberlen some time previous to 1638, and continued in his family till about 1715, when it was sold by Hope Chamberlen to Mr. William Alexander, wine merchant, who bequeathed it to the Wine Coopers' Company. The

* Ibid. chap. i.

† "English Midwife," 1671, chap. xxv. p. 141.

‡ "A Treatise of Midwifery," Dublin, p. 153.

principal entrance to the mansion is through a porch, the masonry of which being carried up with the building, serves as closets to its respective stories. Two or three years ago, a lady with whom I am intimately acquainted (and from whom I had the particulars), discovered in the floor of the upper closet a hinge, and tracing the line she saw another, which led to the obvious conclusion of a door; this door she soon found means to open. There was a considerable space between the floor and the ceiling below, and this vacancy contained divers empty boxes, &c. Among these was a curious chest or cabinet, in which was deposited a collection of old coins, trinkets, gloves, fans, spectacles, &c., with many letters from Dr. Chamberlen to different members of his family, and also the obstetric instruments. Being on terms of intimacy with the family resident at Woodham Mortimer Hall, these instruments have been presented to me, and I have now the gratification of depositing them with your Society for the gratification of public curiosity, and to secure to Chamberlen the meed of posthumous fame due to him for his most useful discovery." *]

Additional information concerning the discovery of these instruments was obtained by Dr. Robert Lee from Dr. May, who, writing from Maldon on the 6th July, 1861, says: "The following account of the discovery of Dr. Chamberlen's instruments in June, 1813, I have received from Mrs. Codd, now a resident in Maldon, who was, at the date mentioned, and for several years previous, resident at Woodham Mortimer Hall, her husband being the occupant of the place. Mrs. Kemball, the mother of Mrs. Codd, being on a visit to her daughter in the year mentioned, happened to go into a closet above the entrance porch. She was struck with the appearance of a cork, or a small disc of wood—Mrs. Codd forgets which—in the floor; a second one was then noticed on a level with the boards.

* "Medico-Chirurgical Transactions," vol. ix.

On investigation these were found to cover each a screw head. On pursuing the enquiry, a trap-door, with small sunken hinges, was noticed; on elevating this a cavity between the floor and ceiling was brought to view. This contained some boxes in which were two or three pairs of the midwifery forceps, several coins, a medallion of Charles I. or II., a miniature of the Doctor damaged by time, a tooth wrapped in paper, written on, 'My husband's last tooth'; some little antique plate; a pair of lady's long yellow kid gloves, in excellent preservation; a small testament, date 1645. These three latter articles I have seen in Mrs. Codd's possession. The space under the floor is about 5½ feet square and about twelve inches in depth. There are two pieces of iron projecting from under the boards, with holes in them for the reception of the screws in the trap. This remains now in the same condition as it was when discovered forty-eight years ago. The concealment was evidently made subsequent to the death of Dr. Chamberlen, which occurred in 1683, as the testament above alluded to bears a manuscript date of 1695. The instruments were taken possession of by Mr. Carwardine, a friend of the family, then a practising surgeon, now retired, and residing at Earl's Colne Priory, in this county. That gentleman took them to London, and presented some of them either to the Medical and Chirurgical Society or one of the Hospitals."*

DESCRIPTION OF THE CHAMBERLEN INSTRUMENTS.

These instruments, which are carefully preserved in a glass case in the rooms of the Medical and Chirurgical Society, are as follows:—

Levers.

No. 1. A lever, 12 inches long, with fenestrum, 5½ inches

* "Medico-Chirurgical Transactions," vol. xxvii.

long and ¾ of an inch broad, the handle terminating in a small blunt hook.

No. 2. A lever, 11¾ inches long, with fenestrum, 5¼ inches in length and ⅞ of an inch broad, the handle terminating in a sharp hook so as to form a crotchet.

No. 3. A lever, 12 inches long, with fenestrum, 6 inches long and 1 inch broad, the instrument gradually decreasing in breadth towards the handle, which is flattened and formed as if intended to be used as the blade of a forceps; there is, however, no perforation for a rivet. The handle terminates in a sharp hook.

Crotchets.

No. 1. A crotchet, 10½ inches long, terminating in a large blunt hook.

No. 2. A crotchet, 9½ inches long, constructed like the last.

No 3. A crotchet, 10¼ inches long, terminating with a flat heart-shaped handle.

Fillets.

No. 1. A fillet of whalebone and satin ribbon.

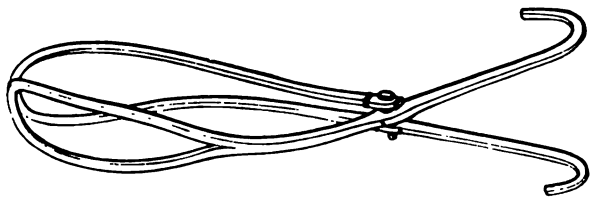
No. 2. A fillet of the same construction, 12 inches long.

No. 3. A fillet curiously constructed of whalebone, canvas, and black silk, 9 inches long and 2½ inches wide, perforated at one end with two eyelet holes an inch apart.

Forceps.

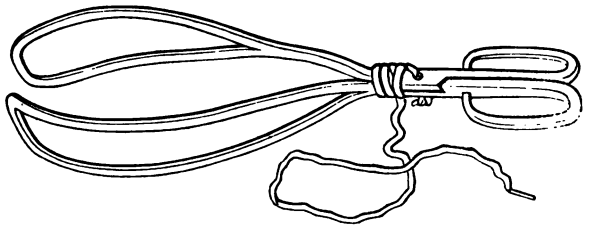
No. 1. A very rudely constructed forceps, one half 12½ inches, the other 13 inches long; the length of blade to joint in both 8 inches; the length of fenestrum in one blade 5 inches, in the other 8 inches. One handle is 4½ inches and the other 4 inches long, and both terminate in blunt hooks bent outwards. The two portions of the instrument are united by means of a rivet, which can be unscrewed. Its head has not the usual notch in it, but

is made oval.* The apices of the blades, when the instrument is closed, touch one another. This was doubtless the first midwifery forceps constructed by the Chamberlens, and from which sprung all the various forms now in use.



No. 1.

No. 2. Forceps, 12 inches long; the length of blade to joint 9½ inches; the length of fenestrum in one blade 8½ inches, in the other 5¼ inches; the breadth of fenestrum in the former 1¼ inch, in the latter 1⅛ inch. The handles are 3¼ inches long, and looped large enough to admit two fingers on one side and the thumb on the other. The two portions of the instrument are united by means of a braided cord having a knot at one end and a tag at the other. This is passed through the apertures usually occupied by a rivet, and enables the operator to unite or disunite the two portions of the instrument.

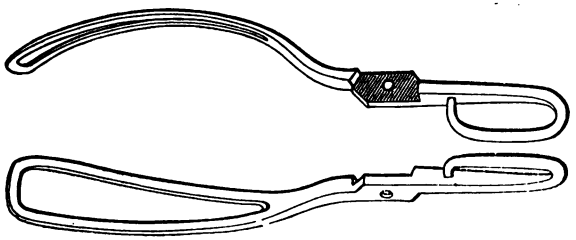


No. 2.

No. 3. Forceps, 12 inches long, similar in construction to

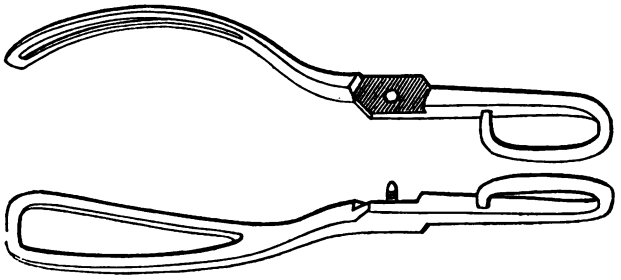
* Edmund Chapman lost the screw of his forceps, and found "that the instrument did its office much better without it."

the last, except that the fenestra are of equal size—6 inches long and 1 inch wide.



No. 3.

No. 4. Powerful forceps, 13 inches long; the length of blade to joint 8 inches; the length of fenestrum 5 inches, and breadth 1 inch. The handles are looped and 5 inches in length. The two portions of the instrument may be united by means of a rivet fixed in one half, and fitting loosely into a perforation in the other. The divergence of the apices when the instrument is closed is 1¼ inch.



No. 4.

The important discovery of these instruments in the house of Dr. Peter Chamberlen makes it unnecessary to consider the claims of the last two generations of the Chamberlen family as inventors of obstetric instruments. Hugh Chamberlen, junior, Hugh Chamberlen, senior, Paul Chamberlen, and John Chamberlen, without doubt inherited the family secret, but not one of them has any

right to the honour mistakenly thrust upon him by authors, of being considered the inventor of the midwifery forceps.

The generally received opinion at present is that Dr. Peter Chamberlen invented this instrument, but the conclusion has been arrived at upon insufficient grounds, for the evidence supplied by the preceding "Memorials" unmistakably suggests that he, like his descendants, received his knowledge of the midwifery forceps from his father.

In reading the account of the instruments discovered in Dr. Peter Chamberlen's house, one curious fact can scarcely have escaped the attention of the reader, which is that there are three specimens of each class. It is true there are four forceps, but one is of such rude construction as to be scarcely practically useful. The rational and inevitable explanation, therefore, of this remarkable coincidence must be that the instruments found were those not only of Dr. Peter Chamberlen, but of his father and uncle, for the secret could scarcely have been kept if at the death of the two latter obstetricians their instruments had been allowed to fall into any other hands than those of Dr. Peter Chamberlen.

In his early professional life, Dr. Peter Chamberlen was gay and extravagant, and had not the keen incentives of hardship and want to sharpen his intellect and whet his invention. Besides, we have evidence that he was, very early in life, in possession of the secret which gave him a superior position as an obstetrician. The midwives in their petition against his scheme for incorporating them (an attempt which he made in imitation of his father), spoke of him as "being a young man," and Philolethes repeats the same idea. He says "the midwives (as most women are) being wise enough already, scorned to learn from a man that had no more beard than themselves." It is true Dr. Peter Chamberlen attempted to patent some mechanical contrivances, but he

acknowledged that they were not of his own invention, and were of so chimerical a character, as to prove him to have been anything but a sound and practical mechanician.

Again, Hugh Chamberlen, senior, in the preface to his translation of Mauriceau, says, "My father, brothers, and myself, have *attained to* and long practised a way to deliver women." He does not say "*invented* and long practised a way to deliver women," which would probably have been his mode of expressing himself had his father been the inventor; and lastly, we have the strongest corroborative evidence that the secret of the midwifery forceps was communicated to Dr. Peter Chamberlen from his own writings, for in his "Voice in Rhama," he says, "Fame begot me envie and secret enemies which mightily increased when my father added to me the knowledge of deliveries."

There is also undeniable evidence in the "Annals of the Royal College of Physicians of London," that Dr. Peter Chamberlen's father and uncle possessed exclusive and superior skill in the treatment of difficult labours. When Peter Chamberlen the younger endeavoured to incorporate the midwives of London, his project was opposed by the College, and at one of their meetings he was asked whether, in spite of his boast that he and his brother, and none others, excelled in the management of difficult labours, any member of the College would not answer and judge more correctly than any obstetric surgeon whatever.* This query appears to have been suggested by a feeling of annoyance at the assumption of superior skill by the brothers, and certainly proves that they were in possession of some secret method of practice, which they believed enabled them to treat difficult labours in an exceptionally advantageous way. Can there be any doubt as to what

* "Earum causam hic procaciter agenti Petri Chamberlaine juniori facta est quæstio, si quid difficile in parturitionis causa cuivis Collega proponatur, annon is melius respondeat et judicet quam quivis Chirurgus obstetricus, etsi hic vendicet et se et fratrem suum solos in his excellere."—"Annals of the College," Feb. 21, 1616.

this secret method was? And is it likely they would have reached the eminence they undoubtedly attained had they not been in possession of superior skill in their profession? Everything was against their success. As foreigners, they were suspected and hated, and as refugees, they were dispirited and poor. Skill, industry, and energy could alone have enabled them to surmount the difficulties which everywhere presented themselves; yet in spite of all these disadvantages, Peter Chamberlen, the elder, was selected to attend the Queen in her confinements, and both brothers secured powerful friends, raised themselves to honourable positions, and amassed considerable wealth.

Having arrived thus far in the chain of evidence, the only question now left to decide, is which of the brothers invented the midwifery forceps? Strangely enough, having reached this point, independently of further evidence, a line in the introduction to Smellie's Midwifery, which had hitherto received from no one either attention or comment, came like a welcome flash of light in hopeless darkness, and as completely as it is ever likely to be, cleared up the mystery. In speaking of the instrument used by the Chamberlens, he adds, "and said to be contrived by the uncle." "The uncle" can mean no other person than Peter Chamberlen, senior, for Dr. Peter Chamberlen had no brother practising as an obstetrician. As far therefore as can be determined by existing evidence, Peter Chamberlen, senior, may with almost absolute certainty have the honour conferred upon him of being the inventor of midwifery forceps. He was born, as has been already shown, in Paris, from whence, when a youth, he fled with his father to this country. Here, as was the case with many of his brother Huguenot refugees, he rewarded our country for its shelter, by bestowing upon us the priceless and beneficent bounty of his skill and genius.

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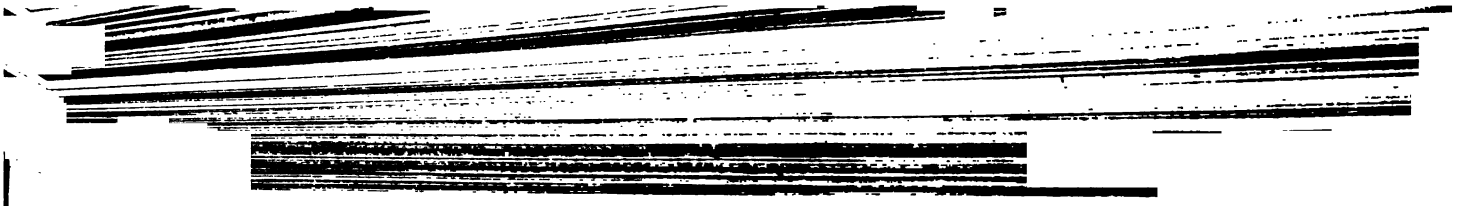

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